772 *sonx̣ʷ'*. If the Bella Coola were strictly logical, one should expect them to conceive the upper surface of *sonx̣ʷ'* as being convex. Instead, it is considered a flat surface, very similar to the earth, and no explanation is given of what fills in the spaces between the dome, concave as viewed from this world, and the upper plane which could rest only on the peak of the [811] dome. But logical accuracy is not a Bella Coola characteristic. This flat land is called *dāsonxʷ'dā* or *wasonx̣ʷ' wawutkłłoqosił*. It is illumined by a second sun, shining on it as the sun does on the earth. Far in the east of this upper region are extensive tide-flats. This land above is the home of many supernatural beings, who will be described in due course. The [821] relative position of the sun to this upper world is ill-defined. According to some accounts, it travels by clearly marked trails on the surface, and a transparent dome is postulated to explain how its light reaches this earth. Others state that it moves like a bird or flying canoe through the space between the world and the dome-sky above. On many of these points there is a [538] [424] striking difference of opinion, which the Bella Coola explain by saying that their information is derived from ancient stories, which are personal possessions, and that no one knows the beliefs of his fellows. A co-ordinated theology, as Boas points out, has not evolved among the Bella Coola.

772 773 [776] The sky, as it may be called if the reader will bear in mind that it is the underside of a flat land, was not always in its present condition. The Bella Coola say that long ago the supreme god instructed his Carpenters (I, p. 39) to make a sky. They started from the eastern extremity of the earth, but after a considerable part of the dome had been erected, it fell with a thunderous crash, because no supporting posts had been set up. The part that escaped this calamity is called *Sałwalosam*. Undiscouraged, the Carpenters continued their work with the assistance of posts and so built the sky as it is seen today. Then the supports were taken away.

772 821 As already stated, a sun shines on the land above. As that seen by mortals is attached to the land above, so is this upper

sun attached to another land above the one of which our sky 772
is the underside. Boas (p. 28) has described this upper land [821]
in some detail. A number of Bella Coola were questioned on
this subject, but for some time no one could be found with 772
knowledge of its existence. At length one of the older people 184
remembered that a man who had died some thirty years ago
had a personal story connected with it, and later a Kimsquit
man was able to furnish definite information. He explained
that in his family there was a myth dealing with this matter; [424]
others might have heard this myth, but since it was not their
property, of course they would not be able to impart the facts
contained in it, nor would they necessarily believe it. Consequently,
an upper land, superimposed above that which is
immediately over the earth, cannot be described as a Bella
Coola belief; it is shared, so far as could be ascertained, by
only two families.

The chief feature of this uppermost world is its distance 772
and unapproachableness. To the supernatural beings living
in the intermediate land it is a far-off place; in fact, their
attitude towards it corresponds to that with which mortals
regard the land above their own. The supernatural ones can,
when they wish, visit this upper world, which is called *Nuqwliāls*.
A sun shines there, but it is a different kind of sun from [821]
that known to mortals. On the whole it appears that this
upper sky-land does not differ materially from either the earth
or the land immediately above. No human being has ever [773]
reached this distant land, so what little is known about it was
brought down in the beginning of time by the first people.

In addition to these two upper worlds, the Bella Coola
know of one, or perhaps two, below. One of these is inhabited [775]
by ghosts.[1] It somewhat resembles the earth, but is unsubstantial
and ethereal. It is considered to be immediately

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[1] At the present time the Bella Coola are in a state of transition between the old beliefs and the new. This concept is held only by the older people, so it might be more accurate to describe it as one which they, the tribe as a whole, used to know. It has been thought advisable to use the present tense throughout in recording customs and beliefs which are now rapidly passing away. [178]

from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow 821
on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon [756]
represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola mythology [773]
or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two
in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta*
and *X̣ɩnx̣ɩnes*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of
the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the
forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to 805
a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the 821
passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite
prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old [554]
men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather [578]
than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter disputes
concerning the proper date for starting the winter ceremonials. [796]
Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar [114]
in greater detail than the present writer has been able to [178]
do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art,
and the following list of the months was all that could be
learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard [114]
to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those
between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is
offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikālamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Si'islalitl*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Si'iswai·stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Siqālx̣am*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaos di Āno·likwolsaix*,

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[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts [575]
in his home, when he was a young lad although members of the *kusiut* society (II,
chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter. [468]

not systematized; if a man is asked about the powers or functions 771
of a certain supernatural being, he will usually answer by 776*
recounting a story in which that being appears. What is known
respecting many of the lesser supernatural beings depends upon [424]
information contained in stories, and as many of these are [184]
personal possessions, it follows that there is tremendous variation
in individual knowledge. Psychologically, this is of little importance; there are enough supernatural beings for everyone to know some of them, and to expect to meet or hear them in the forests. To insert many of the stories contained in later chapters would break the sequence of description; all that is here attempted is to give a general summary, in a way foreign to Bella Coola thought.

Supernatural beings are by no means all-powerful. It is 776*
true that they have miraculous powers and can work weal or
woe to human beings who chance to come in contact with them,
but likewise they may sometimes be overwhelmed by mortals
armed with objects steeped in human essence, such as a blanket
which has been worn until it is impregnated not only with the
smell, but the physical being of its owner. In particular, [756]
shamans or other mortals of great strength have been able to
conquer the supernatural ones. Consequently, it may be said
that although supernatural beings live on a plane different
from that of mortals, they are not omnipotent. Long, long [773] ●
ago, man was able to come in contact with them more frequently,
but that golden age when the semi-mythical ancestors 776*
of the Bella Coola were living has long since passed away, 178
though it is only within the last few years that such beings,
particularly supernatural animals, have become comparatively
rare. The Bella Coola give three main reasons for this:

(1) Supernatural animals do not like the sound of muskets and have moved far away.

(2) With increasing dependence on the canning industry, fewer hunters penetrate into their haunts in the distant parts of the mountains.

(3) The younger Bella Coola no longer take pains to purify themselves as a means of placating supernatural beings.

* 776 [821] *Ālquntäm* is occasionally, but inaccurately, called *Sunx*, the Sun.

772 *776 [552] Though *Ālquntäm* often sojourns in the sun, his home is in the flat land above the sky, a huge house which figures prominently both in Bella Coola mythology and present-day thought. The name of the house is *Nusmät·a*. It resembles those constructed on this earth, but is boundless in size. Like the houses of human beings, its name is changed according to what is taking place within. Every autumn the supernatural beings gather there to await the coming of *Ālquntäm* at the winter solstice; while waiting they pass the time by performing the equivalent of the earthly *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1). This assemblage is termed *qulxwaix*, and the house, during this period, *Nusqulxwaista*.

The following names of the house, with meanings, were obtained:

Nusmät·a, "The Place of Myths."

Nusq̇watłnaista, "Where Everything Was Begun."

Nuskəläłnımsta, "The Place Whence Came the Falling Down."

Nusłłımnänımsta, "The Place Where Mankind was Made."

Nusälquntämsta, "The Place Where *Ālquntäm* Speaks."

Nusqulxwaista, "The Place of the *Q̣ulxwaix*."

Nusṗskunsta, "The Place of Meeting," or "The Council House."

Nulsax̣mäls. The meaning of this word is unknown.

Ānuxwolsekmäls, "The Moving House." The significance of this last name rests on an ancient myth in which the house is described as travelling from place to place.

● 773 * 776 To grasp the significance of these designations it is necessary to understand the beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the creation. Their mythology contains no account of the origin or birth of *Ālquntäm* himself, nor of the making of this world; in the beginning of time no living creature, either animal or vegetable, existed with the exception of *Ālquntäm*. He, therefore, decided to alter and populate the world and

accordingly created four supernatural Carpenters. They in 773
turn made a number of workers, *ālq̇watłtʌntutł nunuqomaxmʌlx̣*. 776*
These beings, endowed with enormous power by *Ălquntäm*, chiselled from wood a number of human beings, the forefathers of mankind. Some men state that this was done by the four Carpenters, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that they were merely supervisors. No explanation is given of the means used by *Ălquntäm* to give life to the beings thus created. The workers made not only human bodies, but constructed their mentality, including the speech. *Nusmät·a* contains a large number of rooms, in each of which a different set of Indians, with a different language, was manufactured; thus is explained [829]
the diversity of tongues among the people of British Columbia. The Carpenters did not confine their attention to men and women. Supernatural beings, animals, birds, trees, flowers, fish, mountains, rivers, perhaps even moon and stars, all were created almost simultaneously by them under the direction of *Ălquntäm* in *Nusmät·a*. The sun alone was not made in this way. *Ălquntäm* chose the proper plumage or fur for each bird 773
and animal, which the Carpenters painted and carved according to his instructions. 776*
As they provided men with different languages, so they furnished the birds and beasts with their 825
speech, which men can no longer understand. Each was given the necessary tools for existence on the earth below; sharp incisors to beaver, strong talons to eagle, a penetrating eye to heron, and so on. The Bella Coola do not regard birds and animals as being of a lower order than themselves, for all were created by the same power, at the same time; in many respects they consider that they belong to a higher plane than human beings. It would be too great a digression to include at this point a number of myths describing the creation, but these will be found in vol. I, chap. VI.

Mythology does not record in detail the sending down to 773
this earth of trees and plants or of the forefathers of all other Indian tribes; but the manner in which the first Bella Coola arrived is clearly stated. Around the walls of *Nusmät·a* were

● 773 hanging a number of bird and animal cloaks, representing ravens, eagles, whales, grizzly bears, black bears, and a few others. *Älquntäm* asked each individual which of these cloaks he preferred to wear. One selected a raven, another an eagle, and so on. Each donned his choice from the wall and immediately became the bird or animal chosen. *Älquntäm* gave each man or woman one or more names, and some food in compressed form; then sent him down in avian or mammal form. Even the animals could travel through the air like birds, and each landed on the peak of a mountain in the Bella Coola country, took off his cloak, and reassumed human form. The discarded coverings floated back up to *Nusmät·a*. A few individuals, instead of coming to earth in animal form, swarmed down posts which stretched between the worlds.

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This myth is fervently believed by the Bella Coola. Even Christian Indians, though they readily admit the biblical creation as applied to the white race, remain convinced of the manner in which their own ancestors came into being. At the present time, though most ancient beliefs are rapidly passing away, few, if any, Bella Coola doubt this account of the creation of their forefathers. Their conviction rests not only on the religious aspect of their life, but on the sociological. A man's
[551] most treasured possessions are the name brought down from
[424] above by his ancestor in the beginning of time, the knowledge of the form taken by that ancestor, and information about the place where he landed. A collection of myths of this kind is given in vol. I, chap. VI. Lacking knowledge of his first an-
[622] cestor's form, a Bella Coola has slight chance of becoming a
[554] chief; such lore is the birthright of every descendant of one of
[561] these first people, and those without it are almost certain to be the offspring of slaves. The social aspects of creation myths will be described later; at this point a broad outline must suffice. *Nusmät·a*, "The House of Myths," is the place in which these myths were made, and are now stored, two reasons for its importance in the eyes of the Bella Coola.

[775] *Nusmät·a* is not only connected with the history of an indi-

vidual's ancestors; it enters into his own future as well. When 177
a Bella Coola dies, his spirit (I, p. 94) travels back on the 773
path of his ancestors from generation to generation until it
reaches the spot where the first one came to earth; there it 775
assumes the bird or animal cloak used on that occasion and
floats aloft to *Nusmāt-a* to live forever. Small wonder, therefore,
that this house figures prominently in the thoughts of the
Bella Coola, and that they cling tenaciously to a belief in it.

Knowledge of *Nusmāt-a* has been inherited almost entirely 772
from the first ancestors of the Bella Coola, and only a few items
of information could be gleaned concerning it. Most men
think of it as an enormous replica of their own houses, but one
individual, of philosophic temperament, expressed the opinion
that it was without any inner partitions. His belief was based
on the following incident:

> 772
> Some years ago a young man died without apparent reason. His
> sorrowing father kept wondering: 787
>
> "Why has my son died? Can he have committed some crime or made some mistake?"
>
> Despondent and grief-stricken, for a whole year the man did not wash, ate little, and slept on the floor. At last he wandered away, alone, into the mountains. Night overtook him and he lay down to sleep without food. His son came to him in a dream, telling him not to lament, that he was in a better place than this world, for *Ālquntām* had recalled him to *Nusmāt-a* to use his voice, which was unusually powerful, as a means of conveying his wishes to the other occupants of the house. Thus comforted, the father returned home in the morning, washed, and again behaved normally. My informant suggested that cross walls would be a bar to the strongest voice, and that *Nusmāt-a* must consequently be partitionless.

Nusmāt-a contains not only the spirits of all deceased Bella 772
Coola, It is also the home of most of the supernatural beings. 776
These frequently descend to visit the earth, but always return [775]
to the house above. So far as could be learnt, the only being
irremovably located there is an old woman, *Snulqulqāls*. The
most prominent article of furniture in *Nusmāt-a* is *Ālquntām*'s
seat, in the central position behind the fire. Over it is laid

dancers. *Sninia* differs from most supernatural beings in having his residence in this world instead of in the land above. 776*

Among the beings dwelling in the upper region are a number of *Xemxemtmm*, whose function it is to ask the sun to appear every day. [821] It travels without their assistance, but if they neglected to arouse it, darkness would prevail all day. The only knowledge of these beings is derived from information given by the first people; they have not been seen by mortals since early days and do not act as patrons for *kusiut* dancers.

Heat and Cold are regarded by the Bella Coola as anthropomorphic beings, but their beliefs concerning them have not become crystallized, perhaps because of their non-appearance as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. The following story is told of the annual meeting of Heat and Cold. 776* 821 539

Every spring Cold, *Snaskwlats*, meets Heat, *Sqwlâltua*, in some undefined locality and says:

"You will not be welcome in the place to which you are going [the earth]. I have just come from there. People like to get up on cool mornings to start work, they won't pay any attention to you."

But *Sqwlâltua* replies: "No. They will welcome me. Everyone prefers to spend a few extra minutes in bed in the mornings. It is pleasant to do so when it is warm, hence I shall be welcome in spite of the eagerness of mankind for work."

In spite of its apparent definiteness, this account is regarded merely as a story, and it is doubtful if any historical accuracy is attached to it. The Bella Coola laugh when it is told, and the irony of the conversation is not lost on them.

S'pi', the Cold Wind, is another anthropomorphized being belonging to the realm of stories rather than to that of everyday life and profound belief. His wife is *Alâla*, and their child is Ice. On a cold morning, if a Bella Coola finds ice on liquid left in a bucket or other container, he warms it at a fire until he can lift off the sheet, and throws it out of the door, saying as he does so: "*Alâlaa*··,"[10] your child has become cold." 776* 821

Both the North Wind and his wife, *utlurman-i*, whose home [773]

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[10] The vocative form of this word.

* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
● 773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *axlurmen i* especially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she
[821] has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 821 177 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sak'lāil*, the supernatural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow. The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break
[731] one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Älmunskālhwaiyaix* or *Älmunskitilnum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are
[575] shown, as masked figures, at *susauk* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmāt·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemsemālotla*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Älquntām*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tlāqmā·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Älquntām* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemsemālotla* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmāt·a*, where *Älquntām* frequently visits
[777] the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tlāqmā·ks* has been known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

the rescue of *Łmumunumiais* they saw him being carried downstream 776*
to a salmon-weir about three hundred yards below. The trap was raised [539]
at once, but it was too late; the rash fisherman was dead. No one could [761]
give a name to the supernatural being who had caused his death; it was
merely one of those dwelling under the river.

Whales, too, are sometimes observed in the rivers, but [825]
though they appear to resemble those of the ocean they are
really their supernatural prototypes.

These human-like dwellers beneath the water can, as in [761]
this case, cause death, but they are usually regarded as uncanny rather than dangerous. But there is one undersea being whom the Bella Coola regard with unmixed awe; he is *Ḳomoqwa* (see Plate 10), lord of the supernatural ones beneath the ocean, as *Alquntäm* is lord of those dwelling above. He lives in an enormous house under the sea wherein the fish, the sea-mammals, and the sea-plants have their home. The Bella Coola believe that these beings can take human form at will,*
and assume that their behaviour in *Ḳomoqwa*'s dwelling corresponds to that of human beings in the house of an earthly
chief. In the beginning of time, when men were more powerful 773•
than in recent years, this house sometimes rose to the surface 776*
of the water and adventurous Bella Coola entered it on various
occasions, leaving to their descendants tales of the wonders it
contained. These accounts have become family myths and [724]
are described with others of similar type in Chap. VI, vol. I.
Records of this kind vary greatly in detail; in fact, few agree [184]
more than in broad outline. Sometimes it is stated that denizens of the sea appear in *Ḳomoqwa*'s house in the flesh; other myths describe paintings of sea creatures around the walls and the manner in which these are brought to life by *Ḳomoqwa*. Irrespective of the exact details, it is clear that he is chief of the undersea beings who serve him and hunt for him, the blackfish being especially proficient in this respect. *Ḳomoqwa* resents any slight to his protégés and punishes any mortal who is unkind to them.

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*Bella Coola concepts concerning the transformability of men and animals will be described in the next section of this chapter.

including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Ꞩemoqwe* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives. 539 776 *

Though *Ꞩemoqwe* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has bestowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Ꞩemoqwe* than they do, since he is essentially an ocean-being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that *Ꞩemoqwe* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* society, but frequently with the *sisaok* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella. [756] 177 776 * [575]

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of supernatural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Nakkynam*,[48] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Älquntäm* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Nakkynam* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that 773 ● 776 * [575]

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[48] Cf. Boas, p. 45.

773 subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every
* 776 Bella Coola knows of his existence.

Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina.*[17] It, too,
[575] brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west. Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for *kusiut* dancers. Although both *Noâkynm* and *Winwina* can
[761] easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in connection with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winâs di Sä-lldjo-ts*, "The War-Party of the Tide," or *Winâs di Qala*, "The War-Party of the Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxle-xl'*. This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxle-xl'*, and anyone placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake like *Sxle-xl'*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from
773 *Sxle-xl'* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders
* 776 them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with
825 open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has hap-
761 pened and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If
[756] anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like, and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the
* 776 poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore
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[17] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

human wearer belongs to a sphere differing from that of super- 776*
natural animals and is dangerous to them. Consequently, if 789
worn clothing be thrown on a fire it repels unpleasant visitors. [824]
Other powerful protections are false hellebore, and smoked
salmon roe. A wise hunter always carries these and if he sees
a dangerous creature such as a *sming*, he chews the two together
and spits them towards the peril. Needless to say, if a kindly
animal is seen, the hunter does not drive it away by these
methods. Why false hellebore should be so effective is a [824]
matter of wonder to the Bella Coola themselves, for as a rule
it is the human essence attached to objects which gives them
their strength over the supernatural. Thus the most powerful [841]
of all charms are pads that have been used by women during
their menses. If a woman travels on the ocean she is careful
to carry some of them with her ready to repel any danger from
the supernatural water beings.[illegible]

The manner in which the Bella Coola regard mythical 776*
animals and other evidences of the supernatural is illustrated 789
by the following practice. Hunters always want to know the
direction of the wind, and when the breeze is too slight to be 821
discernible they blow upwards a small amount of eagle down, [224]
which is so light that the faintest breath of air will bear it
down wind. What the logical white man considers a natural
phenomenon, appears to the Bella Coola as miraculous; eagle
down, stripped from the dead bird by human hands and stored
for some time within a house, has become so humanized that
it can conquer supernatural powers to indicate the direction
of the wind.

The mythical monsters already described are not the only 776*
animals regarded as supernatural by the Bella Coola. They 825
believe that in the beginning *Alquntam* created men and beasts 773
at the same time and in the same place, giving the former the
greater share of power, but not exiling the latter to a different
plane of existence. In those early days, the semi-supernatural

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[illegible] This matter will be described more fully in connection with Magic; see vol. I, chap. xx.

* 776 825 [773] forefathers of the Bella Coola had the ability to talk with animals and birds. The men of today, who realize that such intercourse is not now possible, assume that they have degenerated from the golden age of their first ancestors. On the other hand, they see no reason to believe that beasts have undergone a similar change, and take it for granted that they have continued in the supernatural, or semi-supernatural state in which they were created by *Ālquntäm*. It is true that man is stronger than most animals, but that does not affect the attitude with which the latter are regarded, for supernatural and powerful are not synonymous terms. *Ālquntäm* decreed that they should serve as food for mankind, and they have since obeyed his command, but the Bella Coola do not consider themselves undisputed lords of creation. They fear *snusx̣*, *sninq*, and other creatures of great power, but they know how to avoid them; similarly, deer and mountain goats fear men, but they are not entirely defenceless, because their speed and agility give them advantages corresponding to those of men in combat with beasts stronger than themselves. All living creatures use the weapons with which they are equipped. For example, when a mountain goat eludes a hunter by scaling a precipice too steep for its pursuer, the latter considers it has escaped through supernatural climbing ability; whereas the goat has merely used the power granted by *Ālquntäm*. Likewise, [789] when a *snusx̣* or a *sninq* is outwitted by the use of soiled clothing or smoked salmon roe, the means, unnatural to it, are natural to the human being employing them. Men and animals alike regard each other's weapons as supernatural.

In consequence of these beliefs, the attitude of the Bella Coola towards animals is fundamentally different from that of white men. They regard them as possessing human mentality, and even the ability to assume human form if they so desire. In fact, they believe that animals merely appear to them in the shape of beasts, but can change to human, or other form and behave accordingly whenever they wish to do [756] so. The degeneration of mankind has made it impossible for

men to see these transformed beings habitually, but even now, 776*
or at any rate until a few years ago, shamans were able to lift 825
the intervening veil. From accounts given by those who have
had such experience, the Bella Coola believe that *Ălquntäm* [756]
gave to birds and animals, as well as to humans, the boon of
fire, and it is only the unworthiness of men that makes them [773]
unable to see the smoke rising from the houses of different
creatures. In former times, fortunate hunters were able to
do so, and consequently had phenomenal success. The smoke
that ascends from the fires of different animals corresponds in
colour to that of its owner; a mountain goat's is white, a
beaver's, black, a squirrel's, red, a wolf's, gray, and so on.
When a goat stamps the earth on a mountain, it rings hollow,
as indeed it is to those animals, for their home is within; and [823]
when a hunter loses his quarry entirely, it is because the latter
has entered its house. Shamans are sometimes able to hear
the gatherings of animals under the peaks. Like human beings, [756]
they dance to the accompaniment of music, and in all respects
behave like them. They have their times of joy and sorrow,
of success and failure. When ill they are cured by their own
shamans, grizzly bear, *snunq*, and wolverine; these three also
dance to welcome the dead. All animals and birds are like
brothers, able to converse with each other and living harmoniously
together in that other part of their life which only
shamans have seen. Porcupine is the oldest, and a hunter
always tries to kill one before passing to more important prey. [224]
The animals know about the actions of human beings and
show their aversion to certain habits by refusing to allow [784]
themselves to be seen by anyone practising them. For example,
they do not like people to drink water in which dog salmon
have been soaked, and no hunter would dream of partaking of [224]
that food. Bella Coola mythology is full of accounts of human
beings who, with supernatural aid, were able to penetrate to [773]
the homes of animals. Tales of this type would be unintelligible [538]
without understanding the attitude of the people to the
animal and bird kingdoms.

000 Coola throw pieces of it and eagle down on the water.

424 773 825 [556] Before leaving the subject of supernatural animals, a word must be said concerning the attitude of the Bella Coola to those in whose forms their first ancestors came to earth. If, for example, a man's first ancestor descended as a raven, this knowledge is a valuable possession of himself and his family. Indeed, the most treasured possessions of a Bella Coola are not the material objects collected by him through life, but the intangible rights wrapped up in his ancestral history. These are referred to under four names:

(1) *Smaiusta*, "Preserved Story"; the myth describing the coming to earth of a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(2) *Kəlelta*, "What Was Sent Down"; the names and other possessions given by *Ālquntām* to a man's first ancestors in the beginning of time.

(3) *Tx̣āmätł*, "Whence We Came"; the place to which a man's first ancestors came in the beginning of time, and the one from which they have since spread.

(4) *Q̇watlınta.*

424 773 825 211 Various *smaiusta* are recorded in vol. I, chap. VI, and the second and third terms are really part of the first, although to the Bella Coola they are psychologically distinct. *Q̇watlınta* is the word used for both the birds or animals chosen as cloaks by the first settlers, and also for creatures with which the early people came in contact. The nearest interpretation appears to be, "Crest." When a Bella Coola whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven portrays that bird, it serves as a visible mark of his intangible possession. In former days, if a man carved on stone so that his work and his name would never be forgotten, it was a *q̇watlnekam*, a constant reminder of his greatness to generations then unborn. A *q̇watlınta*, therefore, combines the concept of *memorial* with that of *crest*, so that Bella Coola speak of the white man's memorials as *q̇watlınta*. In brief, a man regards the form assumed by his ancestor when coming to this earth as an emblem of the

ancient history and fame of his family. It is a matter connected 211
with the past, a matter of the mind, a source of pride 424
to him to have such a possession, but a matter that does not 773 ●
affect his daily life.

So far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola crests consist of 825
the following birds and animals: raven, bald eagle, grizzly
bear, black bear, wolf, whale, blackfish, merganser, loon,
sḳāmtsk, possibly deer, and the mythical double-headed snake, [776] *
susiutl. To these must be added the sun, because some of the
original people came to earth in human form by sliding down
his eye-lashes, the sun-beams; and *nultnikta*, the posts which [772]
stretched from earth to the land above, down which a number
of the first ancestors of mankind swarmed in human form.
The Bella Coola believe that these posts are particularly [829]
common memorials among the tribes of the outer coast. According [772]
to some accounts it was these posts which supported
the first sky until it fell.

A crest is connected almost exclusively with the distant 424
past. A Bella Coola whose ancestor came to earth as a raven 779
pays no attention to the ravens of the present time. The
matter was approached from every possible angle and not the 825
slightest sign of respect toward living specimens of a man's crest could be noticed. A query as to whether or not a man refrained from eating his crest was regarded as highly humorous. Nor is there any trace of fellowship between unrelated families even if they happen to have the same crest. The subject was broached repeatedly, until at last one informant smiled broadly and said:

"I know now what you want to find out, I can tell you all about it."

He recounted how the Kitkatla are, in his opinion, stupid
enough to regard as brothers all those who have the same
animal story even if they are members of different tribes. He [648]
said that when he was a young man at Victoria, where Indians
from all parts of the coast used to meet, a Kitkatla had once
asked him what was his animal. He was puzzled, but as the

nearest answer to the question replied that his *crest* was the
424 Raven. The Kitkatla was a Raven man, too, and to the
779 narrator's surprise, treated him as a brother for the rest of his
825 stay in Victoria. He shook with laughter as he recalled the
experience, and added that though he was quite willing to
accept favours of this kind he would never dream of returning
them. It can be stated unhesitatingly that the Bella Coola
have no totemic beliefs concerning their crests. There is not
[582] the slightest trace of respect towards the animal, nor yet of
exogamy.

211 Although crests are not objects of religious veneration, yet
they have some importance in the realm of social life. The
424 portrayal of one serves to indicate ownership of an ancestral
●773 myth describing that particular bird or animal. A wealthy
825 chief is proud to display his crest on a totem-pole, or as a
painting on the front wall of his house. Anyone seeing such a
[532] design is impressed with the glories of the family history of
[556] the owner, to the latter's gratification. A living specimen of
the bird or animal is treated with no respect, but its delinea-
[304] tion is a memento of family history. For that reason a man
is often tattooed[28] with his crest, that derived from his father's
first ancestor on the right breast, that from his mother, on the
left; and the owner of a canoe often carves his crest on its bow.
After the death of a chief a memorial-post is erected near his
grave, decorated with a painting or carving of one or more
crests to remind observers not only of the deceased, but of his
000 family history, his most treasured possession. It is said, half

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[171] [28] It is said that tattooing was formerly customary not only among all the coastal
[184] tribes but also the Carriers. Both Bella Coola men and women decorated themselves in this way, but the custom was not universal, and is said never to have been common. It is believed that Haida chiefs tattooed themselves in connection with potlatches; in Bella Coola this was not the case although the operation was performed within the back-room of the patient's house. Two methods were employed. The first was by puncturing the skin with a needle smeared with colouring material; the second and less common, by passing a string coated with the substance beneath
[386] the skin. The dye was obtained from river stones which were baked for a long time and then ground into a powder. This keeps indefinitely and can be made ready for use by mixing with water. As far as could be learnt, any skilled craftsman might perform the operation.

It is said, half
jocularly, that a man grows to resemble his ancestral cloak; 424
if, for example, one man's is the eagle, his hair turns white 773 ●
early, whereas that of another with raven crest long preserves
its blackness. More definite, is the use as a signal for attack, of 825
a whistle imitating the cry of the leader's bird or animal. [726]
Finally, when a man whose crest is the raven hears one of these
birds calling, he cries out:

"Hello, *q̇watlitʊntao* [the vocative form], it is as you say."

This custom is probably due to a belief in the ability of ravens to bear news.

On the whole the attitude of the Bella Coola towards living examples of their crests does not differ from that of mingled respect and superiority with which they regard other birds and animals.

THE RAVEN

The beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning Raven differ so 773
fundamentally from those respecting other birds and animals, 776*
that the subject must be treated separately. In the beginning 825
of time, when *Ālquntām* sent down the ancestors of the Bella Coola to this earth, he despatched Raven to be their guide and teacher. For this purpose Raven was given greater power than that granted to any other animal. He came to earth in avian form, then changed to a man, but his cloak did not float back to the land above as did those of the other first-comers. Instead, it remained in the world below where he could resume it at will. *Ālquntām* had instructed him to travel to all parts of the world, meaning the coast of British Columbia, in order to study the arts and crafts of the inhabitants and bring back to Bella Coola those which seemed desirable. On these explorations he used to assume raven form and set off in his canoe, *Tobᵘnkl*, which travelled without visible motive power at phenomenal speed. Owing to the power that *Ālquntām* had given him, he could talk to the trees and the mountains, the birds, the animals, and the insects, as well as to the human beings he encountered on the coast.

● 773 * 776 825 [538] Raven, perhaps made conceited by this power, did not always use it for good purposes. He learnt many new inventions which he taught to the Bella Coola, but sometimes he indulged in adventures of an obscene nature. In fact, he was often too "smart." The Bella Coola relate many tales concerning his exploits. These are all mere stories, such as can be told by anyone, and they fall into two classes. One comprises humorous anecdotes, describing how Raven tried to show off, to outwit other birds and animals, and his consequent discomfiture. These belong to the realm of mythology and are recorded in vol. II, chap. v. In addition, there are stories describing the inventions and boons obtained by Raven; these are given in detail here as the only satisfactory means of illustrating the attitude of the Bella Coola towards Raven.

The first Raven, to whom *Älquntäm* granted such power, is not regarded as a bird, but essentially as a superman, with the kindly characteristics of a human being, and the weakness of a conceited individual who is always trying to display his prowess. The ordinary word used for a raven is *qwax*, but [552] this first Raven is properly referred to by his titles as chief, *Nowakila*; *Sänuximäxots*, "The Light-Bringer"; *Kilalxamxwus*, "The Wise One"; *Nu'oxwatlamnaix*, "The Widener";[24] *Qunqwunum uldidä sẋem*, "The Unlooser of Light";[25] *Qaẋ·äxwsila*, *Qwai·lils*, and *Qowi*. The Bella Coola do not explain what happened to this first *Nowakila*; he appears to have dropped out of existence, and his power has not been transmitted to his descendants, the ravens of today. They are regarded as birds, with but the slightest trace of their ancestor's greatness. The [829] Bella Coola know of the beliefs of the Kitkatla concerning Raven, and say that in the north he is esteemed only a little less than the supreme deity himself. But in Bella Coola the exploits of Raven are always considered to be due to the power given him by *Älquntäm*, whose assistant he was, although he delighted to show his own prowess by outwitting his maker.

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[24] Because he is supposed to have widened rivers for several of the first settlers.

[25] Owing to the manner in which Raven is supposed to have unveiled the sun.

> 539 of a woman, *Sekakmān·a*, who dwelt with her mother, a Gull. After a 825 meal, Raven lied to his hostess by telling her of the countless herring that lived at Kimsquit, and how happy he could make some of her relatives by taking them home with him. *Sekakmān·a* doubted the story and told one of her brothers to investigate Raven's canoe because, if the fish were plentiful at his home, some of the scales would certainly be in his craft. The herring youth looked inside the canoe, and was deceived by Raven's subterfuge. On receiving a favourable report, *Sekakmān·a* willingly gave Raven a large box filled with herring. Elated at his victory, Raven set out for home and threw his spoil into the water as he neared the beach at Kimsquit. The Kimsquit people knew of Raven's search for herring, and did not at first believe him when he reported his success, but the fish increased so rapidly that his claim was vindicated.

The herring so obtained were the progenitors of all that now live in the waters adjacent to Kimsquit.

262 824 539 One of the foods regarded by the Bella Coola as a luxury is a foam-like whip prepared by beating up dried buffalo berries in water. Raven is given the credit for introducing this to Bella Coola.

> Long, long ago, *Slexlekwailx*, a mountain in the Carrier country above Burnt Ridge, was a chief, possessing human characteristics. Buffalo berries flourished on his slopes, and he wanted to keep these for food for his guests. On one occasion he invited all the animals and birds, including Raven, to a feast and dance. His house was the interior of the mountain, and when all had assembled he carefully closed every opening so that none of the berries could escape. Raven determined to obtain some of this food for the Bella Coola, and accordingly used his power to force one of the guests to go outside. As soon as a door was opened to let him out, Raven seized some of the whip and flew away, scattering drops of it in his flight. Berries grew wherever the drops fell, and since that time everybody has been able to make this luxury. *Slexlekwailx* was very angry, but could do nothing.

773 Though *Ălquntām* created the world, he did not make it perfect nor equip it with many of the conveniences possessed by men of the present generation. Raven, endowed both with imagination and tremendous power, was always seeking ways of improving conditions. In the beginning of time there were no mirrors, and if a man wanted to paint his face, or decorate [778] [823] himself for a dance, he was forced to rely on the assistance of

a friend. Raven determined to supply this want for the benefit 773
of the Kimsquit people. Accordingly he used a natural stone 778
depression near the village as his chamber-pot, and the liquid
reflected faces clearly. Ever since, any liquid, even rain-water, 823
placed in that depression acts as a reflector. The place is called
Ănilxsaix, "Where People Go," and it has been used as a mirror
by the Kimsquit people and their guests for many generations.
In this way, the renown of Raven spread to foreigners visiting
Kimsquit. Another survival of this construction is the name
Nusqalät·a, "Chamber-Pot," commonly applied as a nickname [551]
to the small daughters of Kimsquit chiefs.

One of Raven's inventions was the making of nettle-fibre 773
olachen nets, an art which he taught spiders as well as men.
In the beginning of time, Raven told two men to make a net [227]
according to a pattern which he showed them, and gave them
some fibre. It was not sufficient, and when the workers asked
for more, Raven told them to draw it from their own intestines.
This they did, and ever since spiders have had the same [825]
ability. Another story describes how Raven saw an olachen
net being made in one of the distant villages which he visited
during his travels, learnt the details of its manufacture, and
taught the Bella Coola on his return home.

Many of Raven's exploits are well known, although not 773
embodied in elaborate myths. For example, it is believed that 823
in the beginning of time the ocean was to the east of Bella
Coola and the land to the west. Drownings were frequent, so
Raven altered the relative positions of land and sea. Most
ocean dwellers followed the sea to its new home, but a number
of mussels remained near their human friends. They are still
to be found in the upper valley of Bella Coola River. These [825]
shell-fish, which are probably freshwater mussels, are said to
be identical with those of the ocean, and are called by the same
name. This is always mentioned as proof of the former presence
of salt water in the upper Bella Coola valley. The occurrence
of the shell-fish may be the origin of this theory. It might
also be mentioned that the Bella Coola believe that a few years

773 ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did
823 not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

773 One of Raven's most important alterations to *Äłquntäm*'s
833 intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

> In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death.

"Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

773 One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed
[183] down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to
[829] Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Äłquntäm* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geo-
[103] graphical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait
[226] hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

instructed people about the significance of death omens; it 773
was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was [622]
Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as [823]
meeting-places for chiefs.

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, 773
teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ālquntām*,
enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to 776
create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but
much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to
mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic
beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in
belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none [825]
of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoo- 776
morphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance 824
is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ālquntām* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored.

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a
Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the [535]
kusiut dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring [575]
(II, p. 196).

761 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nusmät·a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the fol-
[539] lowing story.

[827] A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Älquntäm* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmät·a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

below. These are termed tally posts." Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Alquntām* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Alquntām* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

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777
[753]
[782]
[755]
[575]

[illegible]. One of the names of *Nusmꞏtꞏa*, *[illegible]*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *[illegible]* and *[illegible]* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *[illegible]*, although this may be an error in recording.

773 that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might
777 be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings
at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *q̣watlnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and con-
[431] stantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a
present at a potlatch, it is because his *q̣watlnusta* has ceased
[828] to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only
hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to
[756] his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can
leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one
[775] which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nusmāt·a*. At death it
is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land
above.

777 There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally
773 posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the
777 term *q̣watlnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite
another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nusƚalusta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Âlquntâm* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Âlquntâm* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession. 773 777 [554] [753] [886]

River water, being a creation of *Âlquntâm*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *äsƚalusam*, a word connected with *nusƚalusta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[illegible] 773 777 823 [515] [782] [271] [862]

[illegible] This may be a mere rationalization.

773 777 823 756 [755] Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 560) and immaterial, in tune with *Älquntäm*'s in the land above. One method of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Älquntäm*'s own basin. Such feats [551] are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Älpälxelaslais*.

773 777 It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

MEANS OF PROPITIATION

782 Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

[776] Prayers are regularly addressed to *Älquntäm* who, in this connection, is known as *Minakais* or *Tätä*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Minakais* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

the point between Labouchere Channel and Bentinck Arm, 782
there is danger from treacherous currents, so, when a shaman [193]
passes either of these places, he lays some food on the water [502]
and puffs eagle down into the air as he asks for help. If no [756]
shaman is in the canoe, this is done by the captain.

The being to whom offerings are most commonly made is [776]
Thitcäplilän-a, the supernatural woman who cures the sick and
gives power to shamans. Whenever a hunter kills an edible [224]
animal in the forest, he cuts off four pieces of flesh and throws
them into his fire to gain her goodwill. Long, long ago,
Thitcäplilän-a appeared to a hunter, seized some of his quarry, [779]
and told him of her wishes with regard to presents; these have
since been obeyed by wise people. Similarly, the relatives of
a man absent in the mountains or at sea throw scraps of food
on the fire and ask the protection of *Thitcäplilän-a* for the one
in danger. In this case, it is clear that objects thrown into
flames are received and appreciated by *Thitcäplilän-a*.

Mınakais, although usually propitiated by prayer, is also [776]
given presents. Frequently, when a man is praying, he accompanies
his words by blowing up into the air small particles of
eagle down. Prayers in connection with the departure of war
or hunting expeditions have already been mentioned, but [484]
before starting on any journey by canoe, the captain is careful
to pray and to throw upon the water four pieces of red, and [824]
four of yellow cedar-bark. The blowing upwards of eagle [825]
down is a common accompaniment to all kinds of prayers,
but, if none is available, cedar-bark can be used equally
satisfactorily. If possible, this is cast on the surface of water,
otherwise into a fire, as a request is being made. The Bella
Coola do not believe that such presents are actually used and
considered valuable by *Älquntäm*, but they emphasize and
accompany the vocal prayer, and demonstrate the petitioner's
sincerity.

Ghosts, on the other hand, depend almost entirely on pre- 775
sents given them by mortals, since food is not abundant in the 782
land below. The relatives of a dead person always throw

Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

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The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether automatically or through the agency of *Alquntäm* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy contin-

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[774]
[773]

831 once was enough to kill an enemy, as if his spirit had been
785 driven from his body by a sudden start. Even in recent times
it is said that individuals who have observed ceremonial chas-
● [773] tity have been able to perform miraculous feats. A few years
[784] ago a Bella Bella man lost two sons and was trying to get
enough money to buy a tombstone for them. With this in
view, he observed chastity for almost a year. Then he went
seal hunting, and had killed a large number of the animals
when, standing up in his boat, the sail blew against him so
that he was thrown overboard. But he was so strong that he
simply walked on the surface of the water and re-entered his
[784] boat, none the worse for his mishap. The man who cited this
instance stated that a number of Bella Bella had seen the
occurrence and could vouch for it.

Ceremonial chastity is not a matter about which the Bella
[124] Coola are willing to talk. It concerns both their religious and
family life, in neither of which are strangers welcome. But
when an investigator becomes on friendly terms, and gains
some understanding of the inner lives of the people, he begins
to realize its importance. Ceremonial chastity is not only
[785] potent in itself, but it is also the favourite means by which a
man can cleanse himself of the impurities of human existence
so that he finds favour with the supernatural.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Ancestral Family—The Village Community—The Family—Kinship Terms—Slaves

AS in other communities, the social, religious, and economic aspects of Bella Coola life are interdependent, but there is an added complexity in the influence of mythological concepts. This not only complicates investigation in the field, but it also renders a logical description of their customs difficult. Some reference to practices recorded in detail in later chapters is unavoidable. 128 112

In many communities, ethnologists have been able to begin with the social organization of the people. Among the Bella Coola, this is impossible, since their religious beliefs colour every aspect of their life, and these must be understood by anyone who wishes to comprehend their culture as a whole. In this chapter, too, it is necessary to commence with a description of that aspect of mythology which serves as the cohesive bond to one of the social units, the ancestral family.

ANCESTRAL FAMILY

As recorded in the last chapter, it is believed that in the beginning of time *Alquntäm* caused the first men and women to be created in his house above and sent them down to populate the earth. They came in groups of two, three, four, or more, brothers and sisters, or more rarely man and wife, to different parts of the Bella Coola valley. They brought with them tools, houses, clothing, even sustenance in the shape of fish and animals. More important, from the point of view of social organization, they brought with them names and ceremonial prerogatives. In fact, the Bella Coola believe that their culture was created by *Alquntäm* in the distant past, and has not been the result of slow growth. It is true that there 993 [124]

773 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught
829 the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves
so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other
prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants.
Moreover, the people realise that they have been influenced
by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these
additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of
their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand
a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given,
and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The
elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to
their desire to explain their social organization; but without
question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great
influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village
773 community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity.
These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main
[361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined.
[226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river
for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place
for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According
[591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the
women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When
773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able
to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts
of some he had brought with him from above, others he had
formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people
were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few
modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of
these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender
the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently,
their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

and other relatives of their mothers as to their fathers. It 773
was taken as a matter of course that a child had full rights in the village of his mother, and from her, as from her relatives, he likewise received various prerogatives. Thus each child was a member of a bilateral social group. From actual residence in his father's village he tended to be more intimately associated with him and his brothers than with his mother's relatives, but this did not prevent him from visiting at the home of the latter, where he was received as a member of that village. Through the bestowal of prerogatives by his mother and the members of her family, his relationship with them was further emphasized. Such a child was, in fact, a full member of two groups.

When the members of the second generation married and begot children, each of these could have been a member of four groups; that of his father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother. The Bella Coola believe that there were approximately forty-five groups of first settlers, corresponding to the forty-five towns, and it is obvious that if the system of intermarriage had continued for a few generations, a man would have been a member of each of these first groups. They assume that their first ancestors came to this earth far more than a few generations ago, and yet at the [614]
present time no one claims to be a descendant of more than eight of these first groups, and most claim descent from only two or three. In part this can be explained by forgetfulness, [611]
though a Bella Coola would regard this statement as heresy. The residence of a man in the village of his father has tended to emphasize relationship with the ancestral group that first populated that village, and there is no doubt that actual relationship, through the mother, with the members of other groups must in many cases have been forgotten in the course of generations. The term *ancestral family*, *minmints*, is used [614]
in this monograph to designate those individuals who believe themselves to be descended from one of the first groups that [104]
populated this earth.

614 773 A man may claim descent from as many as eight of these groups, that is, he may be a member of eight ancestral families. Some restrictive means must have been employed to limit the choice of marriage partners, otherwise a man's membership in ancestral families would have been far greater than it is. The explanation lies in the high regard with which the members of an ancestral family esteem the prerogatives they have received from their forbears. With the marriage of the first women, their brothers were called upon to share their rights, both practical in regard to hunting territory, and ceremonial with regard to dance prerogatives, with their sisters' children. Bella Coola mythology contains no references to unwillingness on the part of the first men to do this; in fact, their own children benefited equally from the marriages of their fathers with other women. But, say the Bella Coola, after these first marriages, necessarily exogamic, men realized that it would be foolish to allow their children to marry far afield and so diffuse valuable prerogatives. It was far wiser for a man to seek as future son-in-law a youth belonging to the same ancestral family as himself or his wife. Then any resultant children would come into this world provided by both parents with common relatives, so that the child would be, as they express it, "Held close and supported by a close circle of ancestors."

582 614 [773] Bella Coola logic does not explain how marriages could have been arranged in the early generations without violating the laws of incest. The endogamic principle displayed at that time, however, has been carried out until the present day, so that a man endeavours to arrange marriages for his children with members of the same ancestral family. One of the strongest Bella Coola desires is to "make good the path" for his offspring, and this can best be done when they are born amply provided with relatives of common ancestry. [769] There is no belief in the active participation of distant ancestors in the affairs of men, yet, though incapable of clear expression, the Bella Coola feel strongly that a child is born into the companionship of its deceased relatives back to the beginping of time.

This endogamic principle will be described in greater detail 582
in vol. I, chap. vii, but mention of it here has been necessary [614]
to explain the composition of the ancestral family.

In recent years there has been a tendency for some men to marry foreign women in order that they, or their children, might obtain new prerogatives. Thus a trend towards exogamy has arisen from the same reason which is supposed to [554]
have caused endogamy. The offspring of such marriages cannot enjoy the feeling of strength and comfort that comes from the membership of both parents in the same ancestral family, but some individuals have felt that this was offset by the gain of highly desirable foreign prerogatives. It is said that this practice was initiated by a certain *Potles*, father of a man about sixty years old in 1923. White influence probably [177]
had nothing to do with this radical innovation, although its wide adoption has been made more easy by the establishment of peaceful conditions on the coast.

Strong as is the belief in a common ancestry, it is unlikely 614
that this would have sufficed to hold together the members of 554
the ancestral family, without some definite prerogatives. These are of two kinds: names and land.

NAMES

The fundamental principle governing Bella Coola nomenclature is that each name must have originated in connection 551
with some event of comparative importance. It is unthinkable to apply a casual designation to a child. At a person's death [768]
his name, or names, may be transmitted to a relative, and it
is proper that the owner of a name should know when, by [553]
whom, and for what reason, it was first created. Tradition [773] ●
affirms that, before coming to this earth, the first people were all given designations by *Ālquntām*; these have been carefully handed down and are still in use. One name cannot be given to two individuals; instances occur of two people having the same one, but in such cases they have different origins. One [428]
person may have several names of different kinds, each carrying

551 with it some definite prerogative of a dance or other function, 428 but all are transmissible, and at the owner's death these may fall to different relatives. A name may pass from man to woman, or *vice versa*, in some cases with a minor alteration. [756] The only non-inheritable appellations are those obtained by shamans as a result of their supernatural experiences.

551 773 553 Not only did each group of first settlers bring with them a number of designations from above, but they also created a number on this earth and bestowed them on their children, and on the children of their sisters or brothers, in whom they felt an almost parental interest. To mark the dignity of the names, all present at the ceremony of bestowal received gifts from the creator of the name, the person who called them together for the rite. The importance of the individual depended largely upon the value of the goods distributed with respect to his name, a concept which will be elaborated in the following chapter. The descendants of these first people likewise created new designations and established their dignity by distributing presents, a practice which still continues. It follows that any complete origin myth should include a large number of names, those brought down from the land above[1] and also those created by the powerful first people on this earth itself.[2] Both types of cognomen will be referred to henceforth as "ancestral names," no distinction being made between those actually brought from above and those made on earth. This is in accordance with Bella Coola usage.

553 Soon after the birth of a child his father, uncle, or other near relative,[3] either on the paternal or maternal side, calls the members of the village together to bestow a name on the infant. The one selected must be embodied in the origin myth of one or other of the parents, and must be one not then in use by any other member of the ancestral family. A relative may give the

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[1] Such a name is a *[illegible] [illegible]*, or "Petrified Name."

[2] Such a name is a *[illegible] [illegible]*, or "Earth-Made Name."

[3] The most careful investigation failed to show that it was incumbent on any particular relative.

614 *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those*
553 *whose ätsq̣tutł names are embodied in the same origin*
[773] *myth.*

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction.
[583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family.
[583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her chil-
dren will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It
614 is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

614 553 178 773 The converse of this process of loss is the assimilation to an origin myth of names originally brought into the ancestral family by a woman from abroad. Unless intercourse and friendly relations were maintained by "return marriages," in a few generations no tradition would be remembered to account for the name, and this, if used at all, would be interwoven into the well-known ancestral myth. Hence a myth is not static with regard to the names embodied in it. These change from generation to generation; it is probable that elements of the story itself suffer like additions and alterations, even though the people do not consider this to be the case.

611 614 The Bella Coola regard the ancestral family as a social unit, not only in terms of the present, but as stretching back to the first settlement of the earth. Viewed from this angle, it is in fact, though not admitted to be so by the Bella Coola, a unilateral grouping with patrilineal descent, which may, in both the most recent and most ancient generations, be marked by matrilineal descent instead. A man frequently uses prerogatives obtained through his mother, her mother, or even her mother's mother, but it is tacitly assumed that for many previous generations such rights passed in the patrilineal line. Sometimes this succession extended back to the beginning of time; in other cases, prerogatives were transmitted matrilineally for a considerable period after the settlement of the earth, before gradually becoming patrilineal.

614 424 551 It has been thus far assumed that the only prerogative wrapped up in an ancestral name is a knowledge of the myth in which it is embodied. But there are others. For example, several of the first inhabitants of the world are said to have erected totem-poles, each of which was displayed by its owner at the gathering when he took for himself a name. Thenceforth, the only person entitled to use that particular totem-pole design was the person with the legal right to the name in question. The same principle governs all dance names; each entitles its owner to perform a certain ceremonial. Thus it is possible to enlarge the previous definition by saying that:

[532] [535]

614 extinct, are unusual; normally, the group is largely centred in
one village, but with members scattered in other localities.
621. There is no central organization. It is generally recognized
that such a unit belongs in the village where its first ancestors
settled, and the leading chief of that village is, therefore, an
important person in the family, though without status of
[622] "head" of it. His advice may be appealed to in cases of dis-
[553] putes concerning names, but he lacks judicial authority. Theo-
retically, the descendants of the elder of two first people are
considered as "elder brothers and elder sisters" of those des-
cended from a younger brother or sister; but this is nothing
more than an accepted fact; it plays no part in the social life
of the community.

552 In addition to human names, the origin myths include those
614 applied to dogs. The first ancestral group had dogs, and these
animals had names, or were given them by their powerful
773 masters. Ever since that time their descendants can apply
these designations to their own dogs. It is unnecessary to
validate such names, but no two canines can be given the same
one at the same time, according to the rule which governs the
bestowal of human names. This matter was not investigated
in detail, and the only dog's name collected was one for which
[539] the origin myth is as follows:

> When *Tāl·io* was first settled in the beginning of time, the houses
> were built in parallel rows, one above the other, up the side of a steep
> knoll. At the very top was a toilet-house, built over such a steep incline
> [514] that excrement rolled down the hillside. In consequence, one of the
> early chiefs living there gave to his dog the name, *Nuliḳwumutl di mnk'*,
> "Rolling excrement," which has since been preserved in the ancestral
> family of his descendants.

LAND

124 Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining information
423 about land tenure. The Bella Coola resent keenly the way in
which their land has been occupied by white settlers without,
177 according to their standpoint, proper compensation. Ques-

124

tions on this subject always excited them, but every effort was made to verify the following statements. 423 [177]

As with names, the easiest way to understand the rights of the ancestral family in land is by first considering the mythological explanation, which mirrors conditions as they existed at the coming of white men. On reaching this earth the first people are believed to have prospected for suitable settlement sites, places where salmon and olachen could be caught, and if possible, near side valleys where berries were abundant. Here they released the animals and plants which they had brought with them, on which they thenceforth subsisted, in accordance with the supreme deity's instructions. The members of the group pre-empted these areas for themselves. Waste land, far from any village was, and still is, free to anyone. A few years after the first settlements had been made, according to the myths, the supreme god sent down to Kimsquit a certain *Alquntām* who allotted and marked the territory which was the property of each community; at that time a village consisted merely of a group of the first settlers. No similar myth was recounted for either Bella Coola or *Tāl·io*, although their concepts with regard to land are identical with those of the Kimsquit. This really gave a sacred sanction to the possession of land, an important matter to a people so religiously inclined as the Bella Coola. 423 614 773 ● [361]

The system of land tenure follows the same somewhat abstruse principles that govern the possession of names in an ancestral family. Hunting and collecting grounds appropriated by the first people, or by their immediate descendants, are the property of their offspring, the ancestral family. The Bella Coola term for such an area is *sol'loam*, also called, *suxsnumsta*, which means "Food Supply." 423 614

It will thus be seen that a hunting-area is not the property of any single individual, but belongs to a group of persons, most of whom live in a single town. The relatives of a man who intends to give a potlatch usually give him, temporarily, exclusive rights to the hunting-ground. As with names, there [224] [431]

Bella bella NE5

BB BC 423 [622]

exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *sol'olam*.

BC 423 614 [226] [773]

Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[7] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

[778] [226]

In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

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[7] Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above stone hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tamalus* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Stuie*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tamalus* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tamalus* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

423 sumed that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that
614 weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members
of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At
● [773] this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence
[226] since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were
sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became
regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership
prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*,
[428] not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir
which were willable like other personal property. In most
[431] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the
section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents.
[428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without
any mark whatever.[1] Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes
were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although
[427] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period,
receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership
[431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was
planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which
the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a
non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was
possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is
most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is
[671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided
by common sense.

226 Although individual ownership is thus recognised with
[423] regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for
olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he
[577] catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him
or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so
[626] would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

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[128] [1] Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

614 is a more obvious social grouping than the ancestral family,
621 though it is of the latter that a man is most proud. The
member of a small, unimportant village often describes himself
as a native of a neighbouring, larger one when at a distance
from his home, simply as a matter of convenience.

Even before the coming of the white man, village sites were
abandoned and people took up their residence with friends or
relatives elsewhere. In fact, mythology contains instances of
[773] such migrations at the very beginning of time. In cases of this
[361] kind, memory of the earlier home has been preserved for many
generations, and may perhaps be the explanation of the many
villages which are described as two, and which have two names.
In the early days immigrants seem always to have been welcome;
they added to the numerical strength of the village, and
the original inhabitants enjoyed boasting to the newcomers
of their descent from the first settlers. Since any group forced
to abandon their own homes naturally moved to those of relatives,
there is no difficulty in understanding the process by
[582] which they continued to intermarry with their new neighbours.
Thus two, or even more ancestral families, inhabiting
one village tended to form a closely inter-related stock. In
rare instances, two unrelated ancestral families may have
become inhabitants of the same village, which would unquestionably
lead to intermarriage.

In most cases the endogamic tendencies already described
cause the village community to be largely members of one
ancestral family. In addition there are always other occupants;
[563] strangers who have fled from their homes and sought
[567] refuge among the Bella Coola; the offspring of illicit intercourse
with slaves; guests; foreigners, especially Carriers temporarily
[554] resident in Bella Coola; and finally slaves, without status in
the community. The real inhabitants, those whose power is
firmly planted in the village, are the reputed descendants of
the first group of settlers, and accordingly a relative coming to
[553] dwell in a village usually endeavours to obtain a name from
the origin myth of the ancestral family occupying it, and thus

601 Coola social organization, and of the absence of standardized
obligations based upon specific relationships.

SLAVES

567 Since a slave was[13] without status in the Bella Coola com-
[554] munity, it is perhaps incorrect to include a description of
slavery in a chapter on social organization; but as slaves
lived in the Bella Coola villages, it seems reasonable to include
them when dealing with the different units of the tribe. It was
162 impossible to obtain an accurate estimate of their number in
567 Bella Coola; slavery has been so long abandoned that the
present natives could only hazard vague guesses. Judging
from conversational remarks by elderly men, it seems probable
that in the old days there was a considerable slave population
in every Bella Coola village, comprising at times as much as
thirty to forty per cent of the total population.

567 When a party raided a village most of the inhabitants were
727 slain, but some, especially children, young adults, or famous
chiefs were captured. As far as could be learned, once a captive had reached Bella Coola he was in little danger, since
torture or systematic slaying after the heat of battle had subsided was not a Bella Coola characteristic. The leader of the
expedition retained many of the captives as his own slaves,
and distributed others among his followers. Anyone, chief
[422] or commoner, could own slaves in the same way that he could
own any other type of goods.

567 Like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold.
437 The Bella Coola were usually so well provided with salmon
that they were able to exchange these fish with the members
[622] of other tribes for slaves. Lack of strong chieftainship among
[726] the Bella Coola hindered their success in war, so that most of
[431] their slaves were obtained by trade. To the same category
belong those obtained as presents at potlatches. If, however,
[773] a member of one of the tribes on the lower Fraser River was

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[648] [13] One of the first effects of the white man's establishment in British Columbia was the freeing of all slaves. Consequently the past tense is used in this section.

given as a slave to a Bella Coola, he was treated as a guest."[*] 567
Slaves were bartered between Bella Coola individuals as a [437] matter of course. Their value depended on sex, ability, and industriousness, as well as on supply and demand. When there [435] was an over-supply, the value of a slave fell to twenty or thirty salmon, but whenever an owner found that someone wished [437] to purchase a particular slave he endeavoured to raise the price. If a foreigner borrowed goods in Bella Coola he usually had to [426] leave a relative as pledge. Thus, not many years ago, a *Xupais* Indian, from near Ootsa Lake, borrowed goods from a Kimsquit man and left his son as pledge. The goods were not returned, so the son was sold as a slave to the people of Kitimat.

It was not uncommon for a Bella Coola to lose his freedom 525 by gambling. At *lehal* especially, a player who had exhausted 567 his goods not infrequently wagered his children, or in extreme cases, himself. If he lost, his children, or himself, became the property of the winner. Unless speedily repurchased by some relative, such slaves were usually sold or given away at the first opportunity to a member of a foreign tribe, since it was considered improper for a man to hold a member of his own 567 tribe in servitude. The same course of action was taken on [628] those rare occasions when one Bella Coola village fought [727] against its neighbour and prisoners were taken.

To the Bella Coola, who still consider a man's "power" in [554] the land as dependent to a considerable extent on his ancestral [773] myth, a slave's greatest misfortune lay in the fact that he had no ancestral home, and hence no rights.

"No slaves came to earth with the first people," they say.

A slave was a stranger in a strange land, unsupported by a chain of ancestors reaching back to the beginning of time. On [727] the whole, captives taken in war were better treated than other slaves since it was felt that such a misfortune might occur to anyone at any time. They were frequently ransomed by their

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[*] This is said to be an ancient practice, due to the fact that several of the forefathers of the Bella Coola came to earth in that region and were on friendly terms with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that this tradition may have reference to the breaking away of the Bella Coola from the main Salish stock. [773]

CHAPTER IV

RANK

Chieftainship—Sisaok Society—The Potlatch

CHIEFTAINSHIP

IN the previous chapter have been described the beliefs of 622
the Bella Coola concerning the origin of names, and the 556*
attitude of pride with which they regard those embodied in 431
ancestral myths, which carry with them prized prerogatives. But the unsystematic method by which ancestral names are inherited is sufficient to show that their possession, though valued for sentimental reasons, is not enough to make the owner a chief. On what, then, is Bella Coola chieftainship based? Expressed briefly, it depends on the number and value of presents distributed at any kind of ceremonial. To the Bella [424]
Coola, every rite, whether it be a marriage, the bestowal of a [779]
name, a dance, a type of funeral, or admission into a secret society, is a prerogative intimately associated with the myth by which the performance is authorized. Accordingly, the host is really displaying the glories of his ancestors before the eyes of guests present at the ceremony. To the Bella Coola it is unthinkable for such to be performed without the giving of presents to all; failure to do so would destroy the value of the prerogative. The potlatch is the ceremonial at which the most lavish generosity is displayed, but the principle of the acquisition of prestige by the giving of presents is the same for all other rites; the only difference is that at a potlatch a man is able to display his generosity to a larger number of recipients.
In consequence, the aim of every ambitious man is to hold [554]
potlatches, since his status in the community virtually rests on his ability in this respect. The ritual of a potlatch will be given in detail in the latter part of this chapter, but its complications will be intelligible only after a description of the

the writer was in Bella Coola, a non-ceremonial entertainment 123
was given one evening at which several men sang 533
and performed. The writer was asked to sing a Bella Coola 556*
song, which he did in the belief that it was not one that was 424
incorporated in the ancestral myth of anyone. Unfortunately, his teacher had erred, and as soon as the song was completed an old woman arose and stated that it belonged to her ancestral family. She avoided the difficulty of its singing by immediately announcing that the singer was her "son." Thus the writer was adopted into a Bella Coola family, a circumstance which aided him considerably in collecting information. This did not alter the fact that a ceremonial song had been sung.
Accordingly, the woman gave presents to the guests, thereby [597]
legalizing the adoption, and saving herself from the disgrace of having one of her songs used as if it were a matter of no consequence, free to anyone.

SEATING

Presents are also a means of obtaining seats. Every Bella 554
Coola has at least one name embodied in an ancient myth. 556*
A man who wishes to become a chief can do so only by giving
lavish presents to make his designation "strong," "firm," or [622]
"bright," to use Bella Coola expressions. Such gifts increase
the importance of the owner's name, and they obtain for him [424]
the right to a seat, more or less definitely located, in the house. Since all Bella Coola habitations are built on similar lines, a man can occupy his wonted position when summoned to a
ceremony in any house. The validating of ancestral names [553]
and the acquisition of seats are among the important features which occur at potlatches.

In the beginning of time, when the first people were sent [773]
down to populate the earth, it is assumed that each who established a village, consisting of a single house, seated himself in the best spot within the dwelling, namely the central position behind the fire; his younger relatives ranged either beside him

554 or sat in two rows, facing one another, on opposite sides of the
556 central fire, parallel to the side walls of the house. When these
first ancestors died, the name of each was passed on to some
[773] descendant. The Bella Coola feel that he who bears the name
[551] of the first settler in a village should have his ancestor's seat.
Comparison with the practices of other coastal tribes suggests
[171] that formerly the Bella Coola must have had a definite series
of seats in their houses, either according to the rank of the
occupant, or according to the rank of the ancestor whose name
he bore. The most careful investigation, however, failed to
show such a system of ranked seating. The only indications
that such may once have been customary, are found in the
feeling today that the bearer of the first chief's name ought to
occupy the central seat behind the fire, and in the expression,
"He seats himself where his ancestor sat," when a youth is
given his place in the house.

[551] A seat can be claimed and an ancestral name assumed at
any age. Goods must be given away which are said to be
"covering" for the young man, to have "flowed away," or to
have "become nothing" for the name. These validate the
official assumption of the designation. With it is given a place
in the house. A seat is chosen at the side of the fire, and the
goods mark that spot as his in conjunction with the name.
[424] The seat itself is not material, though the general location on
which a person shall sit is indicated. His "seat" is the goods
that have been expended. Several men may have positions at
practically the same spot, but when all are seated they merely
move slightly so that all have room. There is no thought of
one person infringing on the location of another. A parent
who gives ample wealth at successive potlatches may seek for
his son a seat behind the fire. Such is entirely his own affair
and if sufficient goods are distributed the son may seat himself
in that place, but if the gifts are of little value the occupant is
secretly held in derision, as having a seat that is unsound, or
unfirm. In later years the man may expend large sums in
strengthening his seat; by so doing he wins recognition from

present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther 553
afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in atten- 556*
dance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* 575
name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had
a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be
termed the *sisaok* secret society.

The close connection between this society and chiefs is 575
obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same 622
ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person
with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, [553]
unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone
the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly
authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and
the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however,
so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a
society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and [595]
funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance.
Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use
some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a [766]
case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in
the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* [189]
rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of
his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in
which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial
dictates.

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* 424
name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time 551
with their first ancestors, and that many more have been ac- 575
quired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially 779
common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth
seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok*
name can be assumed casually; each must have had a
specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though
theoretically there should be one to account for every name.
The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many [177]
sisaok prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently

177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking, 424 even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella 551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella 575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time [773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situation is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the investigator.

428 *Danced* names are willed and inherited in the manner already described for other prerogatives. 551 The type of dance, and the time of use, will be described in the following section of this 595 chapter.

The Potlatch

556 128 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the sisaok society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

104 556 [431] In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "potlatch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents, and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella Coola, each distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

monograph the term "potlatch" will be limited to this, the lisa. 58 [104]

Every Bella Coola is, or should be, able to recount how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god, *Alquntäm*, caused his ancestors to be created in his house in the land above, whence they were sent down to populate the earth. A creation legend of this type is a man's most treasured possession.[1] Most myths describe the adventures of these first people, how they prospered in the Bella Coola country until they were able to invite to their homes guests from far and near, to whom they showed what they had achieved, through the assistance of *Alquntäm*, or of some other supernatural being. In so doing they were carrying out *Alquntäm*'s wishes. He told some of these first people that if they accumulated much wealth, in those days chiefly food, there was danger that the provisions first stored would rot, hence they should cut away the bottom of the pile and present it to other men and women. The Bella Coola term for "to cut out that which is rotten" is *lis*, hence the origin, according to their belief, of the word *lisa*, which thus has the signification of "a giving away of long accumulated goods which otherwise might rot."

556* 773 ● [424] [442]

By the splendour of his gifts each of the first people able to give a potlatch (*lisa*), spread the knowledge of his name and fame to the towns whence his guests had assembled. Further, those who had received dances from *Alquntäm* were able to demonstrate them. In course of time those who had first given potlatches died, but on taking their fathers' names, the sons, or other descendants, endeavoured to uphold the parental tradition by inviting guests from afar and giving them valuable presents. At such a ceremony the family history, or family myth, was recounted, so that the donor of a potlatch not only increased his own prestige, he incorporated therewith the traditions of his parents. This is the essence of the potlatch as carried out today.[2] [614]

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[1] Examples of these are given in vol. I, chap. vi.

[2] It has been found convenient to use the present tense throughout, although the potlatch is not now carried out in its entirety. [104]

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of one in his ancestral myth, he will do so; if not, it will suffice to decorate the old house; but in either case the tasks connected with the construction must be allotted. X gives to one man the work of making new beams; to another, the two front upright posts; to a third, the two rear upright posts; to another, the planks along one side of the house; to a skilled carpenter, the totem-pole bearing whatever design X has decided upon; to a painter, one of the designs for the back wall of the house; to another painter, another design near it; to still another, part of the painting of the front of the house; to another, more of the same; and so on until he has allotted work for every part of the edifice. In some cases there are peculiarities of house construction dependent upon their occurrence in the builder's ancestral myth, which are jealously guarded prerogatives. One man, for instance, enjoys the right to build five peaks above the front of his house. These represent the five peaks of Mount *Nusqɛlst* where his first ancestor came to earth (see Plate 13). Another has a series of spool- or disk-like indentations in his upright posts (see Plate 14) to support the beams, a prerogative established by his ancestor *[illegible]* in the beginning of time. Another chief's posts are carved to represent a mythical creature. Still another prerogative is that of building a sloping board, resembling a gang-plank, from the door of the house to the ground, with a representation of a mythological sea monster at the bottom. In that case the theme of the grandiloquent potlatch song is how chiefs are attracted to X's house, as canoes are irresistibly drawn to the sea monster.

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[773]

Each of the above-mentioned prerogatives belongs to one family alone, whereas several have the right to build semi-subterranean houses. The artisans excavate a rectangular hole, about six feet deep, equal in size to the central part of the dwelling. A platform is then erected round the sides of this, about three feet from the bottom. The walls of the house itself are raised sufficiently far back from the central pit to allow an unobstructed passageway, off which the bedrooms enjoyed by the mask. If the ancestor represents Wasp* or Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a Bella Coola explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears, encircles the house, and leaves by the front door, to the accompaniment of increased whistling. 533 556 * 575 [595]

A few myths embody two ancestors. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of an ancestor to supply an obvious source.

This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard to an ancestor. In some cases the figure does not appear until after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange power, that Y has become possessed, and that his name is now, for example, *[illegible]*. A herald bears this news through the village. A second song is then sung in due course. 556 * 576

The ancestor is difficult to classify among Bella Coola supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral crest, but the council do not seem to have taught the uninitiated to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content. [776]

Several of the older people stated that the ancestor ceremony was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently [772 776] [773] [775]

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*Some of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several [illegible] from these insects that they are regarded as [illegible] by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

264 in such a way that the contents dribble over the recipient;
522 sometimes, though able to catch the dish, a herald may
* 556 deliberately allow the sticky pulp to cover him. The humour of this is increased by the fact that guests at potlatches always receive their food in a ceremonious manner.

229 Though one of a herald's duties is to act as buffoon, his
* 554 position is only very slightly derogatory. In the beginning of time, Raven himself did not hesitate to act in this capacity on
[773] many occasions. Ever since, the post has usually been occupied by relatives of chiefs, especially by those who are unable to give potlatches. In some cases the position is sought by ambitious young men, willing to endure the slight loss of dignity for the emoluments. Since the basic principle of every Bella Coola ceremony is that the donor must recompense those who have assisted him, heralds are always lavishly rewarded. At potlatches especially, chiefs remember their dependence upon the heralds, and shower presents upon them. One who has allowed himself to be spattered with liquid food to amuse the guests is suitably compensated, but in any case he receives presents for summoning and seating the guests and for interrupting the speeches. The same principle holds good in all other ceremonies. An elderly informant related that once in his younger days he had been dancing a *sisaok* dance, when two heralds remarked that the ground on which he was dancing was dirty, meaning, that it had not been made clean by the distribution of sufficient presents to justify his dance. His mother at once gave the heralds two muskets, valuable articles in those days, to clear her son's path. These belonged to the informant, who knew nothing about the transaction until it had been completed, but he accepted as a matter of course the necessity of giving presents to heralds. If the seat on which a chief is sitting should break, presents must be given to heralds, and if a *kusiut* should fall when a herald is watching, the latter
[583] receives gifts. At the marriage of a chief's son, a herald can
[585] claim and remove any of the clothing of the bridegroom or his associates. Above all other occasions, when a young chief is

first established on his seat, he must reward the heralds lavishly 203
for their remarks. 556 *

As with so many elements of culture, the Bella Coola 203
ascribe the origin of heralds to the wish of *Alquntäm* as ex- 773 ●
pressed to the first people in the beginning of time. Some
groups of these early settlers brought with them heralds whose 551
games had been created by the supreme deity himself in his house in the land above. Such a one was *Ẓāqāl'li* who was a member of *Xemcus's* (I, p. 326) party at Kimsquit, another was *Olḍimat* who came with *uzyuyuyat* (I, p. 329). These heralds functioned in the manner of their descendants of today; others of the first chiefs appointed certain of their relatives to perform this service, and by means of the power with which they were endowed, created names with respect to their functions. Besides his ordinary name every herald must have an ancestral appellation of some kind, as well as the probability of possessing *kusiut* ones in addition to those of a professional nature. Either by bringing with them from above, or by creation on this earth, each group of first settlers became provided with a herald, whose name is embodied in the ancestral myth describing their experiences. As each of the first
heralds died, his name was passed to a successor, and this [428]
practice has been carried out from generation to generation until the present. The Bella Coola state that no new names for heralds have been created since the time of the first people, and it is certain that none has been made for many years. Consequently, the number of heralds is strictly limited in accordance with mythological beliefs, and every man who owns one of the ancient designations embodied in an origin myth knows the name of the herald associated with his first namesake.

At the death of a herald his name becomes dormant. Since 203
heralds function at all ceremonies, whether or not the donor 553
belongs to the same ancestral family as themselves, the mem-
bers of the group sustaining the loss are not deprived of their 556 *
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TOTEM-POLES

A feature embodied in many ancestral myths is a descrip- 211
tion of the totem-pole[*] erected by a group of the first people, 556*
either according to a design given them by *Alquntäm*, or in 778
consequence of their experiences on this earth. It is the privi- [779]
lege of a chief descended from that group to erect such a pole,
under the same restrictions as apply to the portrayal and use [614]
of other features belonging, not to him individually, but to the ancestral family as a whole. Totem-poles are also frequently erected to depict incidents connected with the ancestors of a chief, even if there is no mention of one in his ancestral myth. In either case, the setting-up is a source of pride to the chief, especially as it emphasizes the importance of his ancestors, and its display must be duly validated. Theoretically, this may be done at a gathering of less importance than a potlatch, but in practice it occurs at no other ceremony, since a chief wealthy enough to erect a pole naturally desires it to be seen by as many persons as possible.

Poverty limits the number of totem-poles, but is not sufficient to account for their relative rarity. It is a matter of pride for a chief in whose ancestral myth there is mention of a pole to erect one, but all myths do not include totem-poles. Consequently the absence of one before the door of the chief's house is not proof of the owner's poverty or lack of importance.
This matter was investigated with great care, and all the older
people reiterated that the number and size of their poles were [771]
never as great as among the northern tribes.

When a chief is preparing for a potlatch, he allots, among other carpentry tasks, the construction of a totem-pole, if he is sufficiently wealthy to reward the artisan and to validate
the erection in the customary manner. If a special design is [532]
embodied in the ancestral myth containing the name which
he is about to assume, or to make strong, he indicates that design to the carpenter. In the story of *[illegible]* (I, p. 310), for

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[*] [illegible], "Outside Post."

211 example, there is a description of his totem-pole with a ball
556 at the top, and beneath it an eagle's nest containing two fledg-
778 lings towards which a grizzly bear is endeavouring to climb.
532 This is the only known instance of a pole on which the different figures stand in definite relationship to one another. No explanation is offered beyond the statement that this was the form used by *Älkwi* in the beginning of time. Another ancient
[778] pole, used by one of the ancestral families of *Smul*, consists of a simple shaft surmounted by a sphere; this represents a mountain which enters into their ancestral myth as supporting the sky.

As with all features embodied in ancestral myths, a chief can use his own discretion in cases where he has a choice of
[431] design. A totem-pole with specific figures is a common pre-
[432] sent from a chief to his son-in-law, and it is a mark of respect
[606] for the latter to use and validate this at the first opportunity, in preference to one belonging to his own ancestral family. Since the pole erected at a potlatch may have no association with the ancestral name and myth of the donor, the underlying principle in all cases is that the value of the pole depends upon the quantity of gifts distributed to validate its erection. One man mentioned an instance in which he had become confused with regard to the proper design for the totem-pole connected with his ancestral myth, and had used one belonging to a second myth in association with a name from the first. Both were his property, the transaction was duly validated, and the matter passed off without question. It is possible that the
[168] decay of custom which has followed the coming of the white man may have been partly responsible for this error, which was regarded as a somewhat stupid, though not improper mistake; yet it is clear that even when designs are remembered as portions of ancestral myths, they can be alienated from them and validated as isolated objects in the same manner as names and all other features of ancestral myths.

More often, the exact details of a pole are not included in the ancestral myth and a chief wishing to have one erected can

use his own discretion as to the design. At the top he always 211
places the bird or animal cloak in which his first ancestor, 556
traced patrilineally, came to this earth. Beneath this is the 771
cloak of his mother's first ancestor if it differs from his father's.
There are no fixed rules for other representations. Sometimes 592
a man wishes to display the cloaks of the first ancestors of his
wife, or wives; more often, the designs are of creatures with [773]
which his own ancestors came in contact after reaching this
earth.[8] One of the first settlers, *Smaeaw* (I, p. 331), married a Bella Bella woman from whom he obtained a ceremony connected with a whale, an animal which has often been used on the totem-poles of his descendants. The lower figures on totem-poles often represent creatures from which a recent ancestor of the chief obtained supernatural assistance. Consequently, the number of designs which may be used is legion, and the order of portrayal is immaterial. Moreover, Bella Coola art is not sufficiently realistic for designs to be easily recognized, nor is there standard conventionalization of little used animals; so it follows that the designs on totem-poles are often unidentifiable.[9] This is of little consequence, since their value rests neither upon the artistic skill exhibited, nor even upon their significance in connection with the owner's ancestral myth, but upon the goods expended to validate the display.

All Bella Coola totem-poles are carved from the trunks of [824]
huge cedars, with the wood cut away so that the designs stand
out in high relief. The carvers are allowed great latitude both [184]
in choice of form and colouring, hence there is wide variation

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[8] [illegible] is the term applied to animals with which ancestors came in [225]
contact, other than their cloaks.

[9] This statement represents the layman's point of view, that is, of the Bella
Coola who was not himself a [illegible]. It is probable that an expert
would have greater facility in recognizing the conventionalized forms used by the [184]
[illegible], although the whole pattern of Bella Coola culture was opposed to
extreme standardization. Unfortunately, wood-carving, in fact art work of every [182]
kind, had degenerated to such an extent that only one man with any recognized
skill in that respect was still living when this study was made. He was both [115]
unreliable and uncooperative, so that it was impossible even to collect examples
of his work, still less to record his interpretations of the designs of masks or other
objects carved by his predecessors.

of metal obtained from the white man, if not actually machine-made for trading purposes. 556* They resemble the familiar shape 177 found in all parts of the British Columbia coast and vary in 439 length from about six inches to as much as three feet. There is considerable difference in thickness; some of the newer ones are thin plates, others are heavy and appear to be old. The early white traders realized the value placed by the Indians on their coppers and these were soon imitated and became important articles of barter. The Bella Coola state that many of the early Hudson's Bay Company's coppers were made of drawn wire, but this type seems to have passed out of existence, since all the specimens seen in Bella Coola consisted of flat metal plaques.

The Bella Coola maintain that their ancestors have, ever 556* since the beginning of time, used two kinds of coppers. One variety, known as *tála*, resembled the pieces produced by white men. This is the term in common usage for all kinds of coppers at the present time. The other variety, *taltaimq*, is said to have been thicker and heavier and was made by heating [325] the metal in a fire, beating it into the required shape. Long, long ago, coppers of this kind were sometimes found in the forest by hunters who were thus rewarded for observance of [439] ceremonial chastity, but most were obtained in trade from the northern tribes. One of these is said to be preserved at Kimsquit, but none is said to have been owned by a Bella Coola within the last few years.

The Bella Coola believe that *taltaimq* can only be manufactured 556* in one district, far to the north, at the mouth of an 773 unknown river. There, it is said, the chiefs range themselves along the river bank, each armed with a spear, and each with a number of slaves behind him. When the tide is highest, salmon of some peculiar kind appear at the surface of the water. If one comes within reach of a spearsman, he lunges at it, but invariably misses; then the chief drops his spear, seizes one of his slaves and kills him by cutting his throat. A small piece of

556 flesh cut from the body is fastened to the point of the spear,
773 making it so potent that when next the chief lunges at a salmon he transfixes it and brings it ashore. He warms the fish at a fire and then pounds it on a stone until it becomes a copper.

No Bella Coola has visited this distant river for many generations and the belief concerning the manufacture of *taitaimg* appears to have been handed down from dim antiquity. Coppers of this kind are said to have been considered much more valuable than the usual *lália*, but were always uncommon. In addition to their ordinary uses, they had a certain curative value. If the owner of one was ill, he used to clean it
[755] with a rough stone and water; then he would drink four cupfuls of the liquid which contained minute fragments of metal. In almost every case a speedy recovery followed. In all other respects *lália* or *taitaimg* could be used indiscriminately.

Lália are likewise said to have a supernatural origin. When found in the forest, they are due to the supernatural salmon-
[776] like being, *nsiatl*, having changed itself into one. None has been found in recent years because the *nsiatl* have moved away owing to their dislike of the smell of human footsteps and the taint of smoke.

These stories serve to emphasize the complete ignorance of
[325] the Bella Coola concerning the methods of manufacturing coppers. It is possible that long ago they were able to make their own by pounding the native metal, but if so it is surprising that some traditions to this effect were not preserved.
[177] On the other hand, there is little reason to doubt their use of coppers, obtained from the northern tribes, antedating the coming of the whites. All informants agreed on this point, and the frequent references to coppers in mythology likewise point to considerable age. In many of the ancestral myths there are accounts of the obtaining of coppers by some of the
[551] first people, and many ancestral names, both of men and women, are derived from them.

[237] The Bella Coola attribute the value of coppers to the fact

of their occurrence in most ancestral myths.* There seems to 556*
be no mythological explanation for the casting of a copper into 773 ●
the fire after the passing of the representation of a deceased
relative, but the desire of chiefs to use them at potlatches is [769]
the result of their use under similar circumstances by their ancestors. Some ancestral myths lack reference to coppers, but their use is common to all, whether or not embodied in such. It is said to be easier for a chief to acquire coppers if they had been used by his ancestors, but this is not essential.

When arranging for the appearance of a dead relative, the 556*
donor of a potlatch is careful either to possess a copper, or to 769
be able to borrow one at the right moment. As soon as the masked figure has disappeared, the donor stands up, breaks or bends his copper, and throws it into the fire "to make bone for the deceased." No matter how valuable a copper may have been, it is now worthless; its value has been expended on the purpose for which it has just been employed. It lies unheeded in the flames, a valueless article belonging to no one.

At some convenient time, either hours or days later, any 556*
chief may remove the copper and give it to a poor man, only
taking care to choose an individual who has not recently received one. [785] It is said that the gift is "to patch his canoe." It is now the poor man's property, but it has no value, since no goods have been expended for it. The new owner straightens
and repairs it, if necessary by riveting on the broken piece, thus [325]
making it ready for further use. The poor man may keep the copper for years, or it may be only a few weeks before some
chief, preparing for a potlatch, offers, perhaps, $10, for it. In 435
the old days, values were computed in slaves, canoes, salmon,
and other commodities, but now in dollars. If two chiefs should 556*
happen to want it, the poor man may haggle about the price, 437
[illegible]
amicably rather than lower their dignity by seeming to be interested in a matter of money. It is to the advantage of a

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*[illegible] and [illegible] are treasured for the same reason; the former [237]
are mentioned in several origin myths, the latter in one or two.

424 as possible, a potlatch is the most suitable occasion. Goods
distributed for this purpose are not returnable; they have
463 "become nothing" in the acquisition. The value of presents so
*556 bestowed differs enormously; a man who is proud of his prerogative
validates it lavishly until he is strong in his vocation,
whereas another establishes himself on a lesser scale. The origin
● [773] of professional rights, like so many of other kinds, is lost in
antiquity and ascribed to the wishes of *Alquntam* as expressed
to the first people. Some of the early settlers came to earth
[551] with definite duties and vocations, each indicated by a special
name; others, lacking these, created them through their own
enormous power. At the death of one of these incumbents,
424 his name passed to one of his relatives who acted in the same
463 manner as his predecessor after duly validating the name in
553 question. Ever since that time, the owner of a conferred professional
name has been able to perform the functions of the
*556 prerogative. This is never a man's sole designation, but merely
[551] an addition to those of ancestral, *kusiut*, *sisaok*, and other
types. Like them, professional names are usually willed by
their owners, though if this is neglected, one can be revived by
any member of the deceased's ancestral family. In such a case,
the older people usually decide on a suitable incumbent and
suggest the matter to him; if he does not accept, the opportunity
is given to another. If a member of the group is eager
to validate the name, it is unlikely that anyone would try to
[789] forestall him. Ability in certain respects can also be obtained
by magical means (I, p. 701), and a member of the ancestral
family so endowed is the natural choice for the prerogative in
question.

Prerogatives of this kind can be grouped according to the
types of vocation included.

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463
551
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773

THE PROFESSION OF RIVER GUARDIAN

In the beginning of time, *Alquntam* is said to have sent
down with [illegible], who landed on the mountain behind [illegible],

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NES Bellacoola NES

a man, or *smaise*, with the prerogative of enforcing obedience 424
to river taboos. Ever since, the owner of this name, when it 463
has been duly legalized, has had the right to perform this func- 551
tion. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the valid- 699
ation of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary
ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly ratified, but [793]
non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required
by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the name or *smaise*
has always been able to perform his duties.

From time immemorial certain restrictions have been en- 984
forced concerning the river: No refuse may be thrown in, 825
otherwise the olachen would remain in the ocean. For the 226
same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe
lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them [515]
from seeing the route. Occasionally an olachen with red eyes [841]
is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the
fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the [562]
bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to
drive stakes for olachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical
period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can
be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed [502]
must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose
husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at [965]
the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of
the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be
deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would
smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the
upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of olachen grease, are con-
sidered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the 688
salmon and it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the 689
offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringe-
ments, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river.
The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be
swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
[179] into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without hesitation.

THE PREROGATIVE OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
531 natural beings, whether in *sisaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
[575] women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
463 which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
431 of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
[773] prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents. Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women were given by *Alquntam*, or acquired in other ways, the right to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege, which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually conferred in girlhood, sometimes even in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance can be validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One of these names is *[illegible]*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[778] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion or to increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, entitling the pos-
769 sessor to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
463 time, *[illegible]* of Kimsquit married *[illegible]*, the daughter of
773 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

THE PROFESSION OF CARPENTER

As with singers, there are many carpenters who ply their trade without the advantage of an ancestral prerogative. They, also, may be expert and receive credit for their skill, but they can never achieve quite the distinction that comes to a man who has been made a carpenter by the distribution of presents. The latter may be so clumsy with tools that no one would ever trust him to make a canoe, or even a mask; but he is, socially, a carpenter, whereas a skilled artisan lacking a prerogative is admired for his ability but has no foundation of social esteem. In transmitting a professional carpenter's name, however, an effort is always made to give it to a youth with a bent in that direction. 335 424 469 555 [553]

The most esteemed carpenters are those who can make canoes, a trade which requires no special prerogative. In the beginning of time, *Yalátimat* was the canoe-maker *par excellence;* he assisted many of the first people, and no one can have a professional prerogative as carpenter unless this supernatural being appears in his ancestral myth. The Bella Coola ascribe the skill of the Bella Bella in carpentry to the fact that *Yalátimat* married a Bella Bella woman in the early period of the world and that many of that tribe are his descendants. In the old days, before the coming of the white men, carpenters were always respected as esteemed members of the community. Chiefs always cared for them, and they received abundant food at every ceremonial. None the less, they were not wealthy, and only in recent years, since the Bella Coola have realized the value put upon good craftsmanship by the white man, has it become customary to give valuable presents to carpenters. Ceremonially, they have considerable influence, since the carpenter who makes a mask usually decides who shall wear it and takes charge of the fitting and adjustment. He is also held responsible for any accident such as its falling when in use or for mechanical defects. 335 779 [829] 335 [554] [777] [592]

177 of the *s'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with *sisauk* ceremonial really belong to *s'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *s'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *s'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
575 of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a loose organization which may be termed the *s'alk* society. This is closely associated both with the *sisauk* society and with chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[554] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name, another to make himself a *sisauk*, a third to become an *s'alk*, and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may be able to do all three.

S'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *sisauk* or *kusiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *s'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

556 If there is a dormant *s'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
575 family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

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575 574 presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain 535 to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to [533] the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. [525] These conclude the chief features of the *sisaok* dances. Probably [524] they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *kusiut*, [178] they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

SISAOK ORIGIN MYTHS

551 Theoretically, every Bella Coola *sisaok* should be able to 575 recount the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both 773 ancestral and *sisaok* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *sisaok* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *sisaok* can recount little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *[illegible]* for his name *[illegible]* which came to earth with *[illegible]* (I, p. 331) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *sisaok*, *[illegible]*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *[illegible]* (I, p. 316), who assumed the designation of *[illegible]* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *[illegible]*.

539 The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,* long, long ago, *Alquntam* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided then the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *[illegible]*, and a mortal; so he

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[115] [171] *Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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CHAPTER VI

ORIGIN MYTHS

Introductory—Bella Coola Origin Myths—Origin Myths of Other Tribes—Early Traditions Having the Ceremonial Significance of Origin Myths—Second Origin Myths

INTRODUCTORY

● 773 128 EXAMPLES will be given here of the origin myths, which are believed to authorise so much of the ritual already described, and to which repeated reference has been made. [114] In 1898 Professor Boas published such an admirable collection of traditions of this type (pp. 50 ff.) that the present writer paid little attention to the subject. The Bella Coola, however, [124] are so intensely proud of the deeds of their first forefathers that several insisted on recounting them before they were willing to do other work; in consequence, a fair number of myths was collected through necessity. Since tales of this type were recounted almost entirely at potlatches, their significance has declined since the prohibition of this rite. Consequently, many legends are only remembered in part; the abbreviated and often pointless series of anecdotes here recorded can be no more than a small part of the rich field which must once have existed among the Bella Coola.[1]

424 773 As Professor Boas has clearly shown, origin myths relate how, in the beginning of time, the supreme god sent down to earth the first ancestors of the Bella Coola people, each usually

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[1] In writing up this field material, it was my original intention to place all legends together in a separate section, or appendix, following a common anthropological practice. This, however, would have been contrary to Bella Coola thought since origin myths, for example, are regarded as entirely different from either mere stories, or from incidents connected with shamans,—to name two other groups of what are usually described as "legends." I recognize that the insertion of this chapter of origin myths interrupts the sequence of presenting Bella Coola culture, but I believe that it is the way which the Bella Coola themselves would regard as logical, and that it brings out the essential interrelations of this type of myth upon their whole life.

provided with means of sustenance, a house, and certain supernatural powers. The right to the names of these people, as well as to the type of ceremonial objects used by them, has been the privilege of their descendants. But these early Bella Coola, like their modern descendants, had several designations, each carrying with it a definite prerogative. In a single myth there may be embodied a dozen or more names and incidents which are quoted at the present day to authorize such different phases of culture as dances, rights to hunting-grounds, professions, names of dogs, or *kusiut* prerogatives.[3] Any myth which gives the initial use of a name, a dance, or any other prerogative, is termed a *smaiusta*. Each of these is, or was in the old days, remembered with great care and never recounted in full detail except to the members of the ancestral family whose names are embodied in it. Even at potlatches the full details of the myth are not laid bare. Indeed, if a young man is of a flighty, garrulous disposition, unlikely to preserve the dignity of his ancestral fame, the details are concealed from him. Even at the present time there is much resentment at any unauthorized use of a *smaiusta*, and in the old days this would inevitably have led to bloodshed. 424 773 [577] [627]

Boas (p. 116) states that the terms *smaiusta* and *sumsma* are synonymous. The writer feels certain that this is an error. It was discussed repeatedly with various Bella Coola, all of whom agreed that a *sumsma* is a mere story which can be told by anyone, whereas a *smaiusta* is a myth possessed by the individual, or individuals, whose prerogatives are derived from it. To the Bella Coola the two are utterly different. [114] [538]

None the less, there is no doubt that records of the past change from one category to the other. A wealthy chief, eager to give a potlatch, but lacking the mythical authorization, must frequently have used a *sumsma*, claiming the hero as an ancestor. There would be veiled amusement at him for doing so, but the prestige of one who can give potlatches is so great that in time his claim would probably be accepted. The two 178 773 [183]

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[3] The details of these will be described later.

178 773 versions of the myth given (vol. I, pp. 313-19) is a case in point. The first was told as a *smaiusta* by a woman who claimed to be a descendant of the people figuring in it; the second, as a story, *sumsma*, by a man. In view of the reliability of both informants, it seems highly probable that this is a story, partly converted to a myth. In other examples there are incidents resembling the supernatural tales given in vol. I, chap. IX, and here too it appears probable that *sumsma* have been assimilated into *smaiusta*. [577] [424] It is complimentary to the truthfulness of the Bella Coola, and to the respect they show for intangible property, that none of the myths recorded were *smaiusta* owned by others. Repeatedly an informant would say that he knew one, but would not tell it since it belonged to some other family.

128 773 After collecting a few myths, in each of which it was stated that the first settlers at village X were A, B, and C, with their sisters, P and Q, it seemed as if it would have been possible, before the culture of the Bella Coola had fallen into its present decay, to make a census of those whom they believe to have been first settlers of this earth, and that such a list would have had few contradictions. This was soon found to be false. Two myths may give different people as the first occupants of a certain village, nor does such contradiction trouble the Bella Coola. Each man, convinced of the authenticity of his own family account, is quite willing to believe that the one belonging to someone else is equally correct. [811] This characteristic lack of logical consistency has already been mentioned in other connections. Boas (p. 61) likewise gives an instance of uncertainty as to the first occupants of a village, though, on the whole, he found Bella Coola mythology to be more codified than the present writer has done. In view of their lack of systematization in other matters, it would have been surprising if they had evolved a census of their first ancestors, accepted by all as accurate.

[178] Another matter to be considered at this point is the similarity of detail in many myths. In part this can be explained

by the assumption that *[illegible]* have been elevated into *[illegible]*; in this case it would not be impossible for the same story to have been used by two or more families. A more common explanation is the splitting of myths. Although, theoretically, one can never be altered, and portions in the possession of other individuals are remembered as such, there must have been many cases in which the owner of a section told the whole as his own property. This would not be difficult in cases where he moved away from the other members of his family. In course of time, with the assimilation of elements in themselves not strictly mythological, two myths would evolve having a few incidents in common. If asked concerning this, the Bella Coola explain that the first people were quite as capable of doing the same things as two modern men. The occurrence of the same name, or names, in different myths does not, according to them, prove a connection, since many of the first people had the same names. 128 178 773

Finally, there have been included a number of myths dealing with the coming to earth of people in other localities. Probably these are, in origin, those of other tribes, more or less assimilated to the Bella Coola pattern. Each was said to have been obtained by the marriage of one of the descendants of the people described therein with a Bella Coola.

No further explanation is needed for the following myths which are arranged, as far as possible, according to the list already given of Bella Coola towns.

BELLA COOLA ORIGIN MYTHS

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ORIGIN MYTH OF *[illegible]*[*]

In the beginning of time, *[illegible]*, in his form of Sun, the Sun, sent down a man, [illegible], to Mount *[illegible]* (also called *[illegible]*, *[illegible]*, and *[illegible]*), a mountain on the north side of the Bella Coola River about two miles from the sea, near the upper end of the Indian reserve. With him came *[illegible]*, the Hummingbird,

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[*] Related by Mrs. Walker.

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as [illegible], and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of [illegible] Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, as [illegible], and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They knocked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the [illegible] and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves. 98 539 BC 539 *

Soon [illegible] returned. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to [illegible] that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

[illegible] Origin Myths

BC 773 531 575 [787 556 177]

As already noted, many [illegible] names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the [illegible] origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a [illegible] prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most [illegible] rites have been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE ORIGIN OF THE *[illegible]* NAME, *[illegible]*[illegible]

BC 536 * 608 424 BC [609]

About [illegible], a party of *[illegible]* Indians[illegible] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so

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[illegible]Related by [illegible].

[illegible]It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

CHAPTER [illegible]

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

Birth—Childhood Instruction—Puberty Rites—Marriage

Birth

IT was impossible to obtain definite data on the fertility of Bella Coola women, or on the period elapsing between marriage and the birth of the first child. Sterility is rare, though by no means unknown; on the other hand, there are several families with as many as eight or nine children. The changed conditions which have followed the advent of the white man seem to have had little influence on the high birth-rate, although infant mortality has increased enormously. Within the last few years this has diminished, so that the Bella Coola are now holding their own. Children are always desired, and although methods of abortion and infanticide have been known for many years, neither practice seems to have been sufficiently common to have produced an appreciable effect on the population. 842 [163] [165] [847]

Pregnancy usually occurs during the year following marriage. Though its actual dependence upon coitus is fully realized, yet the Bella Coola, religiously minded in this as in all other aspects of life, ascribe the condition to the four *Masmasalánix* acting on the behest of *Alquntäm*. It is believed that the Carpenters carve out the child who is to be born in the same way that a human craftsman manufactures some complicated object. Most individuals do not theorize to any extent upon the course of biological development, but are content to assume that *Alquntäm* has made the coming birth possible. [776] [773] 843

During pregnancy the expectant mother must observe certain restrictions. If she chews gum, she will have a difficult delivery; if she eats salmon tails, the feet of the infant will appear before the head, and although skilled midwives can usually rotate a child, this is a painful process which should be avoided. [843] [844]

the most human of all substances, and, therefore, a potent protection against supernatural beings. It is valuable as a defense against evil monsters, but it is equally deadly to shamans and other human beings with supernatural powers. In the distant past, Raven taught mankind that to sleep with a menstruating woman would so blind a man that he would be unsuccessful in hunting. The belief is that animals, knowing everything that takes place, avoid one who is so unclean. One old man mentioned that he had failed to obey this injunction and considered his loss of vision as a punishment, overlooking the fact that he was over seventy years of age. 841 [illegible]

The coming of adolescence in a boy is recognized by change in voice and the other usual indications. He is neither taboo nor unclean, and consequently does not have to undergo any restrictions on his actions. There is no ceremony to mark the entry of a youth into adult membership of the tribe; instead, this comes gradually and puberty is no more than an indication of increasing age and strength. 881

Marriage

Like most so-called "primitive" peoples, the Bella Coola regard the married state as the normal condition of man. Anyone unwilling to wed is considered unnatural. Since the number of the sexes is approximately equal, the only persons forced to live alone are elderly widows and widowers, and those crippled, either mentally or physically. Such individuals are looked upon as unfortunates; in fact, they have failed in one of the most fundamental of life's struggles. Man provides fish and game, builds houses and canoes, while woman collects berries, makes baskets, cooks, and performs the multitudinous small household tasks. 581 [illegible]

"Is it not to the benefit of each to marry?" say the Bella Coola.

Marriage is not a mere economic arrangement, nor is its sole function to regulate relations between the sexes. Its most important function is that it governs the status of the child. [illegible] of the term is very different from its use among the northern tribes. 582 171

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unsuited on account of the poverty of their parents, 581 the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more presents than the wife [579] at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually [578] married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to marry, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages 582 are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have [778] sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learnt. As long as the laws against incest are obeyed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as woman (I, p. 153) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 425 553 [584] Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour, and always receive presents. At one of these times X's father, with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relatives, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. [427] ● [773] According to mythology, prerogatives may sometimes be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River [421] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name [illegible]. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak-minded [571] and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

557 [553] with respect to their appearance or actions on this earth. As far as could be learnt, the procedure of bestowal is identical with that just described. The following examples illustrate designations of this type:

[illegible], "The Residence Maker." [773] In the beginning of time the wife of *[illegible]* had twins so often that the village rapidly increased in population. Accordingly she took this name for herself when she rebought herself from her husband. It was transmitted for generations in the ancestral family of *[illegible]*'s descendants until lost about one hundred years ago. The recipients claimed it as their own and passed it to a certain *[illegible]*, recently deceased, who gave it to her brother's daughter at the time of her marriage. Since this woman's husband has not yet given a potlatch the name is accordingly in a degraded condition at the present time (1923).

551 578 602 *[illegible]*, "I Am the Worthless One." The mother-in-law of this woman had been in the habit of insulting her daughter-in-law by saying, even when strangers were present:

"We have a worthless daughter-in-law."

On rebuying herself the woman advertised the rudeness of her husband's mother by throwing her words back in her teeth.

[illegible], "I Am the One Whose Eyes Are Hungry." The mother-in-law of this woman used to eat without offering food to her son's wife.

[illegible], "The One Whose Haunches Are Dusty." Her mother-in-law did not give her a place to sit in the house so that she was forced to stay close to the fire in the ashes.

[illegible], "The One Who Sits Where There Is No Space." Her mother-in-law objected to this woman sitting beside her husband when he took his ceremonial seat, and insulted her with the above remark.

551 578 *[illegible]*, "The Stingy One." It was said that this woman restrained her husband's generosity until he gained an unpleasant reputation for parsimony. She publicly cleansed

boat caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, barely escaped. The Bella Coola regard coincidences of this kind as confirmation of their beliefs. 763 825

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these precautions she became insane and has never fully recovered. [158]

The stone man, *Tquoalaqai*, near Kimsquit, who figures so prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die. 763 [775] [225]

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola believe that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been *Snuluxmax*. 763 828

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the Indian is uncertain, he is convinced that he knows of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 The Bella Coola know that sickness, accident, wilful murder, old age, and a host of other factors may at any time terminate a man's life, but they consider that any one of these direct causes is possible only in conjunction with an indirect cause of a religious or supernatural nature; in the last analysis they attribute death to supernatural, not to natural causes. [775] As described in a previous chapter, an ancient myth attributes the origin of death to the stupidity of Raven, but this belief, even if its historical accuracy is accepted, belongs to the realm of philosophy and ancient history rather than to everyday life. 761 776 When a canoe is capsized on the ocean and its occupants are drowned,—the Bella Coola do not consider a drowning a mere accident—it is because Qomoqwa was hungry and desired human flesh. This indirect cause is quite as important as the direct one. So, too, the death of a man beneath a falling tree or a land-slide is no accident; *Sli-lax* caused the tree to crash to earth or the slide to roll downwards. Many individuals believe that this supernatural being is responsible when an animal kills a human. He delights in death and always sits on [754] a coffin before it is taken to the grave, although none but shamans can see him. Any supernatural being can cause death, but it must not be imagined that the Bella Coola go through life in a state of constant fear; death may vanquish them in the forests, but the probabilities are against it. 753 Nor does sickness appear to them as a natural phenomenon. Its cause is either the intrusion of some foreign object into the body, or the weakness of one of the patient's supernatural elements. The only remedy in the latter case is an appeal to the super- [753] natural, sometimes through the medium of a shaman, whereas a foreign object in the body can often be extracted by a skilled [754] practitioner. A disease of this type is often brought on by the machinations of a sorcerer, and if death results it is attributed 761 to the potency of his charms, not to a natural ailment. Even [775] ghosts are able to cause death. In war, one man may be able [776]

to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his super- 761
natural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior 726
rather than to his own ability.

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to ac- 761
count for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have 622
been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural
Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, [775]
came down and "mixed" or "called back" the deceased, think-
ing him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings
are keen hunters, and that *Alquntäm* allows them to pursue
influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in [538]
mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a
matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief
which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a
taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death.
It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before
the death of *Pulka*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach
began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sung** itself had
fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred
in some ritual act. In any case, he died within a few hours.

EVENTS FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village 763
and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendez-
vous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so
would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is
such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick
person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in [756]
a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The
din is indescribable.

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the
shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives,
friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin
to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the
news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 764

575 766 981 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. [184] It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous uninitiated, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior *kusiut* desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the cloak of the deceased's ancestor.

575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *Melahila*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. [424] It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants of the person to whom this occurred. [773] There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. [424] One old man mentioned that an Oweki myth in which a

body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. 575 766 424 [775]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. 764 [776] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[9] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dried and shredded cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [608] undertake the task and bring with them tools for the purpose. When the location has been chosen, they start their work without further instructions, taking care that the corpse shall face east. It is said that this is done because the sun rises in that quarter, a statement that is probably a mere rationalization. Graves are usually about five feet deep, so that the digging requires some little time, especially in winter when the ground is frozen. All the young men are willing to help and relieve one another at intervals. Meanwhile the women are squatting on the ground near the coffin, some of them throwing objects on the fire, and all wailing intermittently in a high-pitched, tuneless [illegible] into which a mourner sometimes inserts words as if her agony had overcome her. [764] [767]

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[9] This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the [illegible]. [770]

"Please return whence you came," moans one woman, while another cries out:

"Perhaps you were unhappy with us and wanted something we could not give you on earth."

The sun sees down the people of *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, who accordingly regard that being as their own. Mourners of those villages, as well as other individuals to whom the sun stands in the same relationship, are accustomed to address him, saying: [773]

"Please increase your light to guide the way. Our child returns to you."

One woman, whose relatives had been killed by jealous clouds owing to their success in giving protection, prayed:

"Come no more. Those for whom you gave light have gone; henceforth shine only whither they have departed."

In some cases such doleful lamentations are mere lip service, but they often express very real grief at the loss of a friend or relative. It is also felt that such sympathy affords comfort to the mourning kindred.

As the grave grows deeper, the relatives keep measuring it and the coffin to insure a close fit and avoid unnecessary digging. As soon as it is ready, an elderly man who has been requested to perform the rite, steps to the north side of the

764 grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, north, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential [774] ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner [776] a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from emerging to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. [764] If a child has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a [illegible] song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first 764 speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go, in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to [775] Alquntam, under the name of *Smaiaakila*, to take pains that [776] the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in Nusmat·a, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

[illegible]

[illegible]

ning of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1923:

"Granddaughter![1] Go with your grandmother[2] to the mountain above [illegible] where my first [mythical] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where [illegible][3] descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the [illegible] where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.[4] I do not want these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that [illegible] will come looking on."

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief."

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.[5] Your grandfather[6] and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported[7] by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here in [illegible]. You rest with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

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[1] The term, chosen, was used, although the child was really a great-granddaughter.

[2] The grandmother had been buried two days previously.

[3] One of the first people to reach the earth.

[4] The places and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.

[5] A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a ceremony held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die.

[6] The child's mother's father.

[7] [illegible], a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are willing to push it from [illegible] the presence of their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead baby, from falling.

775 one of the several crests which it is believed he has become. The point does not appear important to the Bella Coola, corresponding to their indefinite ideas concerning whether the spirit and the life have become a single being, or several.

Knowledge of the life led in *Nusmat·a* by the deceased, now in the form of his crest,* is most indefinite. In a general way it is felt that the actions of this being are similar to those carried on during life, but in a more advanced degree. A skilled carpenter is a better carpenter in the land above, a chief who has given many potlatches below can give more in *Nusmat·a*. This [539] belief finds expression in mourning songs which frequently state how *Alquntam* has called a good carpenter to work above, or how a chief has gone to exhibit his generosity in a new sphere. It is doubtful whether this sentiment plays any real part in Bella Coola thought. The spirit and the life of a dead person have gone too far away to affect the living; what little is known of their actions has been handed down from the distant past and is merely a matter of history. The only time that these 775 two merged elements come to this world is at a memorial pot- 769 latch, and formerly the uninitiated undoubtedly believed that 554 they were witnessing such a visit. Though the spectators were shown as a matter of course that the spirit and the life had become bird or animal, emphasis was laid on the fact that they had become the *particular* bird or animal crest of the donor's ancestral family. The effect of the memorial potlatch in former times, as at present, was, therefore, social rather than religious. Besides, the two parts portrayed have never been known 775 to affect a human being; they expect no offerings, grant no assistance, cause no injury, and are accordingly neglected.

In comparison with the above vague beliefs, Bella Coola information concerning ghosts is clear and exact. As already

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[775] *It is accepted that man were created as human beings, and only assumed bird or animal shapes in order to reach the earth, but there is no corresponding belief that the spirit and the life change back from crest to human form on arrival above. Of course the performance of human activities by zoomorphic creatures presents no difficulties to Bella Coola thought.

777 A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a
787 tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one
of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one
[824] is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own
[785] a portion of a snitqac or a *nuiaxl*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

776 Some of the Bella Coola believe that the snitqac and the *nuiaxl* are the same animal, which can assume these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appear-
[773] ance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the infor-
[784] mation to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

787 The different types of appearances, and the different types
811 of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to
182 failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the snitqac, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory modes of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that disaster would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

777 According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the snitqac was
787 brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own ancestors, Osqandikla. It is to this fact that he attributes
[773] his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in 777
handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod. 787*

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a [761]
snitquai, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next
chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways 783
according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One
common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there
hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen
tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger
must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals
scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and [824]
other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of
the monster.

Similar in function to the snitquai, and equally dangerous 777
to the unwary, is the *nusiatl*. The latter is supposed to have 787*
been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of
time by *Yalátimot*. It was at first the canoe made by this [773] ●
carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains [776]
and fiords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land
and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical 539
description of the manner in which a *nusiatl* appeared in the
past. 777

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, 787*
which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two
heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing
started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this
was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying close
on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now
this salmon was a *nusiatl*, the first that had ever been seen, but the
hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also
took the name of *Nusiatl*, a designation which has been handed down
until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *nusiatl*, 777
and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found. 787*

ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so 777
that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly 823
believes that this stone has brought him money on various
occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects
the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come
to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to
Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but
as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has
any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy [515]
of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river [789]
before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it
were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well,
grant him his desires, and so forth.

SHAMANISM

More important to the Bella Coola than any other mani- 104
festation of the supernatural is that power which makes an 756*
individual either an *[illegible]* or an *[illegible]*. The former is [787]*
a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural [788]
being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing
the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from
a ghost.* It is impossible to translate either of these terms
accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in
this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important
method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will
be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be
known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much 756*
more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, 773 ●
that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures 538

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*Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is necessary to follow their example.

* 756 of these demi-gods of antiquity are favourite themes for stories.
538 The powers of the later shamans have been far less than those
[773] of their forefathers, and their exploits have been of a somewhat different character. Hence it is possible to divide the subject into three sections:

(1) Shamanism in the distant past.
(2) Modern shamanism.
(3) Shamans from the dead.

SHAMANISM IN THE DISTANT PAST

Information on this phase is contained in stories and a few anecdotes which describe the achievements of ancient demi-gods, endowed with miraculous powers of various kinds. The tales are similar in type to those dealing with the granting of supernatural aid to the unfortunate, so that it is in many cases difficult to differentiate them. As might be expected these narratives are not exact. Frequently the teller does not know from what being the ancient shaman received his power, nor can he explain the abilities described, which are different from, and superior to, those with which he is familiar. In fact it is customary to describe any mythical hero as a shaman.

[424] Tales of this kind can be related by any one; they are not the personal property of a specific family. Many of them, that of *Waawalis*, for example, are well known and are told and retold constantly.

In addition to information obtained from stories, a few isolated facts are remembered regarding ancient shamans. It
* 756 is thought that various taboos connected with hunting were
223 learnt by them in the distant past. Such restrictions and in-
[224] junctions were firmly believed in and strictly adhered to until a few years ago, and many of them are still observed. The usual method of hunting harlequin ducks is, or was until recently, from a canoe, with a sapling set up in the bow to hide the hunter, crouched with bow and arrow in readiness; several shamans, however, were able to kill the birds by merely
[262] waving the butt-end of a paddle towards them. Such power

* 756 a boy who was dearly loved by his father. The latter, thinking that
* 787 *Kasiyat* was responsible for his son's death, killed her and was slain in
revenge. Because of the doubts thrown by the Bella Coola on *Kasiyat's*
539 power and revelation her fame did not spread widely.

POWER LOCALIZED IN CERTAIN SPOTS

778 To the Bella Coola every supernatural being is, or should
[776] be, able to move, in fact many of them can travel with phenomenal rapidity. But, in the beginning of time, when
[773] *Ālquntām* was populating the earth, he sent down certain
creatures which were later turned to stone, thereby localizing
their power. The term for a place where this happened is *smā·tl*, which can be translated with accuracy as, "A Locality Where Power has Become Petrified." It follows that anyone desirous of coming in contact with supernatural power of this type can do so by visiting the spot where it is situated. There
[773] are not many of these places, nor do they figure prominently
in Bella Coola mythology, and, as usual, there are many contradictions in the accounts. Apparently there is a tendency to ascribe the occurrence of peculiar experiences to localities where power is petrified. The following are the more important spots of this type, with a short account of the specific attributes of each.

773 (1) *Smaien·a*, also called *Sluxlukwaily:* At the head of the
778 Clearwater, one of the sources of the Bella Coola River, and
539 the place from which comes the warm east wind.

Concerning the origin of the power in this spot the following tale, which is regarded as very ancient, was obtained.

Long, long ago, the ocean spread far to the east, covering the whole Bella Coola valley.[14] The shoreline of the ocean was at the village *Sluxlukwaily*, so called from a chief of that name living there. Mount *Xlikwals*, which is now several miles inland, was then a point around which surged dangerous currents, and where there was always much wind, making it feared by mariners in those distant days. Tradition does not state what being drove back the ocean to its present position; it may have been Raven who made the Bella Coola valley habitable. 773 ● 778 534

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[14] It is assumed that the world was unpopulated at that time, though mention is made of people who were living there. This does not strike the Bella Coola as a contradiction; the accuracy of an ancient story is never questioned; hence it is taken for granted that "people" in the modern sense, were not then in existence.

Once a war party from the north swooped down to attack *Shalshkmaily*'s town. Although the chief's herald, who was stationed a mile below the settlement, called out a warning, the raiders were successful and carried off a number of slaves. *Shalshkmaily* could not bear to think of his people as captives and accordingly exerted his miraculous power to turn the whole place to stone. Houses, raiders, captives, canoes with their carvings, and paddles can still be seen there, all petrified. They have become *smd·tl*.

According to another account, *Shalshkmaily* exerted his powers to petrify the canoes and the bodies of his enemies before they reached his village. He asked the paddlers whither they were bound, and when they told him he, or the mountain which he later became, for there is a confusion between the two, invited them to land. On so doing they were changed to stone, and in this form can still be seen, complete even to the paddles, a proof that the ocean once extended far to the east of its present limit. Many Bella Coola have heard of these canoes, and they are said to have been seen recently.

Since that time the power animating the place has frequently become visible in the form of an enormous snake. There, too, are to be found countless smaller ones, a constant menace to the unwary. The following incidents describe the adventures of people passing near this spot: 778 539 [787] r

The trail to the interior makes a detour to avoid *Shalshkmaily*, but sometimes one of the reptiles, many of which are enormous, will be found lying across the track. If the traveller is bold and jumps over it, no harm will come to him, but if he should try to avoid it by going around, the single snake will increase to a multitude. Not only material objects, but the

159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural
power. He realizes that he could increase the probability
787 of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes
[785] that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and
lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate
[797] his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good
a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing
too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly.
Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but
a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom
dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is
intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every
phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted
that most of the dreams just described took place when he was
sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected.
They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola,
though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information
787 received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective
of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed
[828] that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does
not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly,
[821] but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring
at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other
[773] times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events
for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform
[777] him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as
Alquntäm enters *Nusmät·a*, wise men separate from their wives
[785] and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store
for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a
large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune
to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he
foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another
[821] time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer
solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chastity.
[224] This purification not only increases the likelihood of such
[785]

For Cold 757

Snuff dried urine such as is found around the rims of unemptied chamber pots. *Kâmai·ts* taught the ancestors of the Bella Coola that this was good for colds. [779]

For Sore Throat

Boil cottonwood buds in dog-fish oil and drink about a teaspoonful of the decoction at intervals until cured. Dog-fish oil, being a necessary ingredient in many medicines, is always kept on hand for emergencies.

For Coughing

Boil roots of false hellebore in water and drink the decoction freely. It is so poisonous that the patient usually falls to the ground, spitting blood. Coughing is one of the many ailments cured by this plant.

Another remedy is used for a person whose cough causes him to spit frequently. A friend collects some of the fresh expectoration, mixes it with salmon roe, and places it where ravens are accustomed to feed. This is done four times and the patient is cured if the birds devour the mixture. 755

For Whooping-Cough

Boil cottonwood buds in water with the fat of any animal and drink frequently. 757

For Sores and Boils

Warm dried urine and rub on the part affected. Like the remedy for colds, it was *Kâmai·ts* who taught this to the ancestors of the Bella Coola. Gum or tobacco is sometimes added to the urine, and applied like a poultice. [779]

For Boils (two means)

(1) Heat human excrement thoroughly and apply to the boil, tying it in position with cloth. At intervals, add more, without removing the bottom layer and leave in position for

757 there is in through the smoke-hole. He cuts the roots into thin slices which are boiled in water for four days. The patient drinks several cupfuls of the decoction which never fail to benefit him.

[774] [775] The basis of this medicine is the belief, already described, that when a *sisiutl* swims through a pond it frequently sheds some of its scales which become water-lilies. They are, therefore, potent in themselves and are of greatest benefit to one who has practised ceremonial chastity. The patient must observe several taboos for forty days after treatment. He must hold no sexual intercourse; must eat neither salmon nor meat that has not been smoked; must eat nothing cooked[1] either by a menstruating woman or by one who has lost her husband within a year; and must not approach a girl during the year following puberty. [761] The breaking of one of these taboos causes his death, and the man who has administered the medicine watches the conduct of his patient with great care.

755 *For Debility* (two means)

(1) Drink strong, stale urine, mixed with red rock-paint ground fine.

[424] Knowledge of this medicine has been handed down for generations in certain families. It is said to be most unpleasant to take.

(2) The following medicine, said to be the most potent known to the Bella Coola, is used for a person who has long been feeble, especially if he has been spitting blood. It is the [824] property of several ancestral families, and must be administered by an elderly male member of one of them.

The owner of the remedy obtains a dry, clean skull, places within it a little water which he brings to a boil with hot pebbles and adds a small quantity of mountain goat marrow. The patient is given a dry stick, about three feet in length, from which the pith has been extracted to make a tube. With this he sucks four times, swallowing a little of the decoction, while the practitioner says to the skull:

2: McIlwraith   NE6 Bellacoola NE6
183, 192, 211, 773, 776

/For a Bella Coola-English vocabulary which includes place names, personal names, and names of spirits, gods, mythological characters and places, see category 116, pp. 573-630./

*575 778 untranslatable word with the significance of "One who has suffered loss through faulty concealment [of his repository]." 425 Some of these vaults are said to be dangerous to the uninitiated who avoid them and in this way the sanctity of some [786] chiefs' resting-places is guarded.

*575 778 776 According to Kimsquit belief, *[illegible]* has a husband, *[illegible]*, who dwells with her in every repository. If an uninitiated person should chance to find a vault, he falls dead before the power emanating from *[illegible]*. Her husband then restores the dead by blowing violently on the back of the victim's neck, accompanying this with cries of *[illegible]*. When a person is initiated into the *kusiut* society, the uninitiated hear the songs used, in many of which are references to the experiences of the novice with this supernatural pair.

*575 Turning now to the manner in which the *kukusiut* regard their own society, it is evident that the most important duty of each member is to aid in impressing and deceiving the uninitiated. The prestige of the organization depends upon the ability of its members to inspire awe, hence any weakness in fulfilling this obligation is an anti-social act. For this purpose the society acts as a whole. [428] Many *kukusiut* have, for example, Cannibal prerogatives, and on occasion the Cannibals, having the same functions, work together, but they do not form a separate organization of their own.[4] Many of the means employed to deceive and impress the uninitiated have already been described. [773] [778] Mythology records, and it appears to be a fact, that long ago the ascendancy of the *kukusiut* was often challenged by the *s'alk* and other uninitiated, but when the white man came the society had reached a position of such eminence that the powers of its members were unquestioned. Moreover, the combined strength of virtually all the seniors of the tribe was so great that an uninitiated person could not assert himself even if he was suspicious.

[688] Although members of the society exert every effort to con-

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[4] The Bella Coola state that such sub-societies are found among the Kwakiutl.

§[i.e. a repository of supernatural power— ANALYST]

though the cost of validating such a prerogative is less than a 575 *
potlatch, yet a Cannibal dance, for example, entails consider- 424
able expenditure, so a man entitled to give such a ceremony 435
frequently lends his right to another, or it may lie dormant for
generations. Like other kusiut prerogatives, failure to return 553
is a frequent cause of feud. A man frequently gives away a [556]
kusiut name-prerogative, and if he should give away all of
them, he becomes legally an uninitiated. In such a case it is [578]
customary for his wife, or some relative, to give him a new [426]
kusiut prerogative, as is likewise the case when a master causes
a slave to be initiated. A name is sometimes given to a person
who resembles a deceased relative of the donor.

(2) *A Patron, smaitsta.* Little need be said on this point. 575 *
The words of the songs used by the dancer often describe his 424
patron, always couched in mystical terms for the benefit of 776
the uninitiated. If the supernatural associate performs any
type of dance at the gathering above, so can his protégé per- [573]
form on this earth, otherwise his power is limited to singing [435]
of the being. If an individual inherits prerogatives with the
same patron from two different relatives, he can merge these
to give a composite dance, with consequent additional power.
Greedy individuals sometimes illegally add features to which [578]
they are not entitled, a cause of bitter feelings. Or one indi-
vidual may own several prerogatives with different patrons.
Although most *kukusiut* have only one, yet two or three are
not uncommon and one case is known of a man with six dis-
tinct patrons. The uninitiated believe that from any one of
these may come the call giving him the power to perform.

(3) *A Repository.* In this subterranean shelter his name 575 *
remains, guarded by *Anu'likwotsaix.* An individual with sev- 424
eral prerogatives has a repository for each.
778

Although the *kukusiut* are aware that much of their ritual [779] ●
is deception, it is clear that they believe in the supernatural
origin of their rites, and that their ancestors actually had the [781]
abilities which their descendants of today imitate. In time

E: McIlwraith T. F. (1948) [illegible]

[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

*575 this undoubtedly leads them to believe in the powers which
424 they claim. Each *kusiut* prerogative has had one of three
777 origins:

776 (a) It was brought down by the first people. Before coming to this earth each of them saw in the land above his
[778] patron, who instructed him in a type of dance, and told him where his repository on this world would be. It is assumed that the earliest men were in contact with all the supernatural beings before coming to this earth, but it is believed that each was "blind" to the patrons of his fellows, and thus had only one.

[779] (b) It was derived from an experience with one of the supernatural beings of this world. In this case the repository was either at a spot indicated by the apparition, or at the actual scene of the vision.

(c) A powerful chief sometimes altered an ancestral to a *kusiut* name. It is believed that this occurred comparatively frequently in ancient times when chiefs had semi-supernatural power. In such cases each followed his own inclination in the choice of a patron,[1] and usually made his own repository within his house, giving strength to it by killing and burying a slave there. Although several Bella Coola informants described
[184] this, Kimsquit Indians denied that it could ever have taken place. They say that all repositories were long ago dug by *Nusnadjipsum*, a male supernatural being sent down by *Alquntam* at the beginning of time to prepare the habitations of *Anu'likwotsaix* and her husband. After doing this, he returned to the land above where he has since resided.

It will thus be seen that the prerogative of a *kusiut* is always derived from some experience of an ancestor. In carrying out
*575 the rite, the dancer feels that he is continuing the works of his
778 forbears, a factor which increases his desire that neither error nor carelessness on his part shall dim the prestige of the society before the uninitiated. And, further, a man who has spent

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[1] The Bella Coola cite such actions as proof of the amazing abilities of their ancestors.

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

* 575 883 756 cal is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Skimqs, skimqs, kukusiut, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

* 575 791 756 [824] ● [775] In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* names, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. [432] The profession of *siki* can be transmitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *sisaok*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. [802] [292] [289] Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bark, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them, without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).‡ He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

‡ [See category 116, p 84(e?) - ANALYST]

and the patron shifts his protection to the substitute. Non- 575*
members are told that the death was due to one of the many 766
dangers connected with the society.

It is said that, in former times, the *kukusiut* sometimes held 575*
a commemorative rite at which the song composed resembled 769
that used at a memorial potlatch. Details were unobtainable
on this subject and it is clear that it has long been discon- 533
tinued. In 1922, however, memorial songs were sung for dead 177
kukusiut, but this seems to have been an innovation, due to
prohibition of the potlatch.

THE RITUAL OF SPECIFIC DANCES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DANCES

A detailed description of various *kusiut* dances can now be 575*
given. Unfortunately, there are so many points of difference 796*
between them that each will require a separate account, although considerable repetition can be avoided by mentioning in connection with the first dance those features common to all. The initial performer is always he who has the prerogative of seeing the supernatural canoe which comes from the [424]
Land of the Salmon to visit *Nusqulewaista*. Several *kukusiut* [776]
have the captain of this craft as patron, and if each should wish to dance the marshals decide which of them is to do so. Thenceforth there is no order for different dances; the marshals see to it that anyone who wishes to give a ceremony does so without conflicting with another. The first dance described is the one which occurs at the beginning of every *kusiut* season.

THE DANCE OF *Noâkxnum*[14]

773 ●
The Bella Coola believe that on the fourth day after the
September moon is full there starts from the Land of the 824
Salmon, in the far west, the canoe *Noâkxnum*, commanded by 825
a supernatural being of the same name. This craft slowly

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[14] *Cf.* Boas, p. 40.

J. McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

~~NEB Bellacoola NEB~~

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

773 approaches the Bella Coola River, and proceeds up it, beneath
824 the surface of the water, invisible to all. Its destination is
825 *Smaia'a*, whence its captain leaps to *Nusqalstmalsta* to await
the coming of *Alquntam*. The crew consists of a number of supernatural beings, who will be described in connection with the ceremonial on the night of *nuhuɫam*. This canoe, which brings the salmon and berries to Bella Coola, has four masts but no sails, and is enormous. Whenever the weather is fine, *Noâkxnum* lowers first one side and then the other of his craft so that the salmon may leave; after swimming around for a time they always return, refreshed by their exercise. In former
[718] times when people were purified by ceremonial chastity, sev-
[831] eral succeeded in seeing the craft, and from them it is known
[767] that it is about six hundred yards in length, that it travels
without leaving a wake, that any canoes passing near are sucked along after it, and that a mallard duck, perched on the bow, quacks continuously. Intelligent informants agreed that the bringing of the salmon during the autumn was inconsistent, but they could offer no explanation. One man believed that this was pointed out not many years ago by a man whose
[624] patron was *Noâkxnum*, but that the marshals requested him
[776] not to upset established ritual by too much logic. *Noâkxnum*
575 is patron for several *kukusiut*, who are believed by the unini-
[796] tiated to be able to see his canoe. As he passes up the river
[184] the *kusiut* dances begin.

[424] It is unnecessary to describe the full ritual in each village, as this is supposed to be identical, and probably contains only
[551] slight variations, if any. In *Tcumatl* the *kusiut* who has the prerogative of seeing *Noâkxnum* is a certain *Qoxolān-i*,[illegible] in Kimsquit, *Atuskiwmasam*,[illegible] and in *Slsiatl*, *Xemtsum*. Although,

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[115] [illegible] Details of this dance were learnt from the father of *Qoxolān-i*, who intimated
[426] that the name was a family possession. Several months later an old woman referred to the lending of this designation by her father and said that the present
[578] user had failed to return it. Bitter feelings are often caused by disputes of this kind.

[illegible] Meaning "Cloud Covered," a reference to the invisibility of his patron, as if the latter were hidden by clouds. Many *kusiut* names have significances of this type.

[illegible] B-5 (1922-1924) [illegible]

[illegible]

[The Dance of [illegible]]

Although

theoretically, every *kusiut* should know the origin myth of his prerogative, these are rarely remembered, a state of affairs differing entirely from that with respect to ancestral origin myths. An ancestor of *[illegible]* is supposed to have seen *[illegible]*, decorated with the tails of two eagles stuck in his hair. The following myth was obtained of the origin of *[illegible]*'s prerogative: 575* 424 773 [534]

In the beginning there came down to Mount *[illegible]*, a small mountain on the north side of the Bella Coola River about three-quarters of a mile from the sea, *[illegible]*, his younger brother *[illegible]*, and their sister. *[illegible]* had given them a model house, so small that it was portable, but which could enlarge to any size at their wish. It was called *[illegible]*, a name they bestowed also on their sister. They brought the sacred designation, *[illegible]*, with the right to perform a dance. The party, including Raven, who was like a son to *[illegible]*, came down from their mountain top looking for a place to settle. As people were already living at *[illegible]* and *[illegible]*, they chose *[illegible]* as their home.

From this place the three could hear the beating of drums, as the people of the adjacent villages performed their *kusiut* dances and Raven determined that his companions should not lack the privileges which others enjoyed. Accordingly he flew down the fiord where he saw *[illegible]*, whom he obtained as patron for *[illegible]*. This prerogative was embodied in the name *[illegible]*, which is still in use.[illegible]

The prerogative of seeing *[illegible]* is known as *[illegible]*, "The Comer," or "The Ever-Comer." It will be convenient to refer to the person who has this power as X. As already described, if he had been initiated during the preceding ceremonial season, he is now obliged to dance. In later years, if he wishes to do so, he first consults the marshals, and if they consent he begins his preparations during the summer. Among other matters, X informs the singers of his intentions and they begin to compose songs. Occasionally they re-use one from a previous year, but to do this is to admit lack of creative ability. The usual practice is to compose new tunes and to adapt to them words bearing on the proper theme, sometimes including 575* 796* [424] [533]

[illegible] It will be noted that this myth is of the typical origin type, and furnishes an instance of the manner in which *kusiut* prerogatives occur in such. [534]

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

*575 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the
*776 same compositions from year to year, and recently some of
[533] them, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by
[777] the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

[805] As the time draws near for *Noäkxnim* to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the older *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkxnim* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[157] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

It is believed that *Noäkxnim* must round four points before
● [773] reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

[203] Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes-
*575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated
*776 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed
533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the super-
[776] natural being, *Nuálōmitwam*, at the moment of his departure. This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a
[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

575 salmon are properly looked after, in fact, he is practically the
746 supernatural archetype of the River Guardian. *[illegible]*,
"The Mourner," is a supernatural child who stays with the
776 Resident, and whose sole function appears to be the steering of *Nuskyum*'s craft. *[illegible]* is sent by *Smaiaxa*, who in this connection appears to have human intelligence, to greet *Nuskyum*, and with him come *Smaiaxa*'s son, *[illegible]*,[*] to assist *Nuskyum* in poling his craft up the river. All these beings are patrons for different *kusiut*. The Resident is also known as *[illegible]*.

575 The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house as on the previous
746 occasions; according to some informants two songs are used on this day, others say only one. The people proceed in the
987 usual manner to the lowest house, and make their way up-
[298] stream. When about half through the village, however, X shrieks out that *Numalikam* has brought a call to him. The woman and the heralds cry out loudly, X hastily returns to his own house, from which the uninitiated are at once expelled, and the *kusiut* whistles sound from within. *Numalikam* is one of the supernatural beings who has travelled with *Nuskyum* for the sole purpose of bringing a call to X. If the calendrical
[805] experts have been successful in their reckonings, the November
[821] moon will first be visible on the night of this day. Several of the older men admitted that errors were common, and that sometimes four days more had to elapse, in which it was said that *Nuskyum* was poling up the river. As he passes, his dancers in the different villages receive their calls on successive nights. It is assumed that he can go by several adjacent
[184] settlements on the same night, but the *kusiut* season is two or three days shorter in *Snut* and the upper villages than in *Qomqo·ts*. Exact information on this point was unavailable.
575 As already described, *Nuskyum* travels to *Smaiaxa*, whence
746 he leaps to *Nusqulxmaista* and places his pole within the house.
All the supernatural beings crowd in after him to wait for
773 *Alquntäm*, but as soon as the latter enters, *Nuskyum* seizes his

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[*] Some informants state that there are four of these beings.

pole and starts his journey downstream. 575*

Now that X has received his call, the ceremonial continues 796* for four days more, in a manner typical of *kusiut* dances. Only [773] variations from the pattern about to be described will be given in later dance rituals.

X spends the rest of this day on which the call has come 575* to him, the twenty-fourth of the whole rite, within his house. 796* In the evening a herald summons the *kukusiut*, this being the night of *lnatámem*. In *Stuie* the call used is: 184

Skinap Stuenas, "Cure, ye *Stuie* people," because it is 203 believed that a call almost kills a *Stuie* person. This is probably true for the people of the other villages of the upper valley, but elsewhere this cry is used only when a novice receives his first call. In the lower valley and at Kimsquit the cry is:

Snuparaldimut kukusiut, "Bring light, ye *kukusiut*."

Care is always taken to use the right expression with reference 575* to the locality of the dancer's repository, irrespective of 796* where he may happen to be living.

All the *kukusiut* are expected to attend, in fact, they are 533 glad to do so, but attendance is compulsory for novices only. When all have assembled, one of the leading singers takes command. The coming of his call is supposed to have made [787] X light-headed, and he must be cured by a frenzied beating of sticks four times repeated. During this X himself remains quiescent. The singers now group themselves into a close circle to compose a song describing the supernatural beings seen by X during the day. As a rule, each man has one or more tunes in his mind which he hums to his associates as he softly beats time. Then another does the same, and this is repeated until unanimity of opinion is reached concerning the most suitable. The leader of the choir fits the proper words to this, assisted by his comrades and perhaps by X himself, or someone well acquainted with his prerogative.[31] As soon as the singers have finished their work they widen their circle and sing the song loudly so that it can be heard and learnt by all,

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[31] This song, like the ones used earlier, is sometimes prepared in advance.

attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any 575*
case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have 796*
had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been black- [302]
ened, it must be kept so during this period. At every gathering [293]
he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial
season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an [774]
uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is
taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except [894]
in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes [688]*
to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was
formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules
apply to every dancer.

Alquntäm enters *Nusqulwmaixta* at the winter solstice, and 575*
at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. 796*
It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony 787
of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being,
Noákgnm seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaisn a*, 773
and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by 825
the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers
compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the
departing *Noákgnm* empties a large number of olachen into
the river.[10] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This
final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after
calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noákgnm* is 575*
patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just de- 796*
scribed, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the
ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper 787
prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noákgnm* when at
the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four
days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated
ceremony, termed *Imálundjutqulsan*, is carried out in the
manner described above, except that it is completed in four
days with only two songs.

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[10] *Noákgnm* is accordingly often called *Nuálulnm*. [776]

*575 tive. Hence compensation must be given. Payment for wounds
*796 inflicted is really parallel to payments to witnesses of any other
431 prerogative; without their assistance X would not have been
able to display his right. Long ago Cannibals are said to have
424 had teeth of such sharpness that they were able to take pieces
[773] from the bodies of their victims with ease and quickness. In
● more recent years, it has been customary for a person about
to be bitten to cut himself with a knife so that, when the Cannibal seizes him, a simple sucking at the chosen part will bring forth blood. In view of the honour attached to being bitten, no person to whom such a proposal is made would think of refusing. As previously mentioned, Cannibals do not bite other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts, otherwise their victims may comprise any *kukusiut*.[illegible] Presents received by those bitten are called "Bandages." At the time of such payment gifts are usually given to all *kukusiut*, with additional compensation for the sufferers.

*575 Now that X has eaten ordinary food it is supposed that he
*796 is again normal, although special precautions must be taken
for the rest of the winter since he is subject to returning fits of frenzy. Consequently, he is never allowed to be alone, but is always followed by a number of *kukusiut* whose function appears to the uninitiated to be to guard them from the Cannibal. The sight of strangers suffices to rouse him, so that when a canoe from *Tăl io* or Kimsquit approaches, a herald bids the uninitiated conceal themselves. On their arrival X rushes to the beach, apparently in spite of his guardians' restraint, and honours several of the strangers by biting them, as he did before he was able to eat ordinary food. On such occasions he then visits every house, attended by his escort, before returning to his own. Inside each dwelling he growls, cries out *xwe·*, *xwe·*, *xwe·*, and sometimes shakes or tears off the

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[752] [illegible] Every effort is made to convince the uninitiated of the severity of the wounds inflicted. For example, if a *kusiut* woman is suffering from some malady of the breast which requires an operation, a Cannibal bites her there and non-members are told that the incision, made about the same time, was caused by his teeth.

described for Kimsquit are the lack of the cannibalistic incubus 575*
and the presence of the *sqiols*. It must be emphasized that 796*
these are differences of individual prerogative alone; many 787
Kimsquit Cannibals perform with *sqiols*, many Bella Coola 184
with incubus. 424

Although every effort was used to obtain not only the general principles of the rite, but also confirmation of details, it must be remembered that many of these were omitted at the performances observed, so that reliance had to be placed upon the accounts of participants. It is probable that errors of omission have been committed in consequence; these may account for some of the discrepancies, but the most potent factors are undoubtedly lack of uniformity in individual prerogatives, and failure to enforce absolute rigidity in ritual. The two accounts just given by no means illustrate all the variations possible in this dance; others will become evident in descriptions of the rites of Cannibals other than those who can bite the living.

The following is an account of the ritual of a Dog-eating 575*
Cannibal, *Olxän·i*, of *Sunxl*. Long, long ago one of the ances- 796*
tors of this man saw a pack of wolves devouring some dogs. 787
In some mysterious way, which even the Bella Coola do not 773
profess to be able to understand, the power of a wolf entered
the beholder so that he was impelled to eat dogs. He was then
carried away to the mysterious land above where he saw and
was assisted by several supernatural beings. The first *Olxän·i* [424]
was able to transmit to one of his relatives his ability to eat
dogs, and the prerogative has since been carried out by his
descendants. Should the holder of the name fail to tell his 575*
destined heir the details of the experiences which are to be 796*
embodied in his songs, his successor can obtain these from the
singers who, of course, are familiar with the themes used on
previous occasions. The repository of the name, *Olxän·i*, is
beneath a huge boulder not far from some carved rocks behind [778]
the village of *Sunxl* (see Plate 6).[1/A] It is said that many years
ago some reckless uninitiated placed poles as levers beneath

[1/A] [see category 116, p 84(F) - ANALYST]

* 575
* 796 type of rivalry can be carried out only during the ceremonial
season.

[567] After killing and eating a human being, a Cannibal must
[578] conceal himself for a considerable period, sometimes as long
as four years. The uninitiated are told that the great power
within him has taken him so far into the upper regions that
one or more years must elapse before his return. During
this time he can be seen only by *kukusiut*. The writer was told
of one unfortunate corpse-eating Cannibal, *Xekalus*, who was
virtually secluded for eight years, since a stone was cast at his
feet every time he reappeared, thus forcing him to kill and eat.
[123] This name had been dormant for a number of years until con-
ferred on the writer, who failed to uphold the prerogative.

* 575 One other type of Cannibal prerogative remains to be
* 796 described, namely, that of biting oneself. This is even less
424 common than that of corpse-eating, being enjoyed only by two
individuals, *Qelliaohmy* of *Stuix* and *Snumq* of the Kimsquit
● 773 River. The following account of the origin of the latter's pre-
539 rogative was obtained:

> Many years ago, soon after the first people came to this world, the ritual of the *kusiut* dances was much more exacting than it is at present. At that time the inhabitants of the earth were still endowed with such semi-supernatural powers that they were able to perform rites that people of the present day can represent only with the aid of carpenters' devices. There was then living in one of the villages on the Kimsquit River a certain *Snumq* who had the prerogative of biting himself. He once went hunting on one of the mountains, and when he failed to return the people were convinced that he had eaten so heartily of his own flesh that he had died. Although search was made for his body, it was not until the following year that a professional hunter found the skeleton. From the position of the bones it was judged that their conclusion was correct: he had killed himself by eating too much of his own flesh. The chiefs and other influential *kukusiut* held a meeting at which it was decided that henceforth *kusiut* dances would only be acted, not carried out in reality. The following winter the name and prerogative were transmitted to the son of the dead man, who bit himself, but not sufficiently deeply to cause serious injury.

[The Breaker Dance]

*575 strate their own superiority; they had paid those who had wit-
*796 nessed their prerogative, whereas the Bella Bella Breaker had
648 merely cast a stone without solemnity. Speeches were made,
688 and it was decided that henceforth instead of waging true war
[921] in case of an error in ritual, it would be sufficient if the Breakers
exacted punishment by destroying property. That is the explanation offered by this man as to why foreign war-parties have not more frequently upheld the law by raiding. As before stated, the writer is uncertain whether such beliefs are generally held by the Bella Coola and of course the historical accuracy of the information is still more doubtful.

THE *Kusiotem* DANCES

*575 More awe-inspiring, though less terrifying, than the Can-
*796 nibal, Scratch, and Breaker dances, are the *kusiotem* dances.
424 In these the dancer undergoes mutilation and death, but his
[775] supernatural power enables him to return to life—at least so
it appears to the credulous non-members. The five dances known as *kusiotem* are:

The Stomach-Cutting Dance;
The Beheading Dance;
The Drowning Dance;
The Burning Dance; and
The Swallowing of Hot Stones Dance.

Each of these comprises a distinct ceremonial of great complexity, but only one prerogative is required. That is, a man who has the *kusiotem* right may allow his stomach to be cut one year, and when he next performs will choose to display his ability to swallow hot stones. In this respect, it differs from all other *kusiut* ceremonies. Although a *kusiotem* dancer is entitled to exercise his privilege as often as he wishes, provided his marshals consent, the rite is so difficult that it is rarely carried out.

[775] As far as could be learnt, the Bella Coola of today have no

elaborate myths dealing with the origin of the *kusiotem* dances. 575*
They believe that they are performed by the supernatural 796*
beings in the land above, and that long, long ago *Älquntäm* and 424
his associates held a meeting at which it was decided to send
them down to mortals. They chose as recipient a certain [773]
Omirwaltcua of Kimsquit, and the prerogative of giving [551]
kusiotem dances has since been possessed by the owner of that
name.* The following accounts are of the dances performed
by a certain *Omirwaltcua* whom it will be convenient to
call X. He has six repositories, one for each section of [778]
his dance.

As with all other *kusiut* prerogatives, the impetus to dance
can come only on receipt of a call from a supernatural patron, [776]
the being *Kalsikäkmidjut* in the case of all *kusiotem* dancers.
The uninitiated are told that a call "falls" on the recipient, and
moreover that for *kusiotem* dances it can take place only when
the supernatural beings are rushing out of the house above on [821]
the entry of the sun at the winter solstice. Thus *kusiotem*
dances should take place after the winter solstice, although
this requirement has not been enforced in recent years.

The Stomach-Cutting Dance

In the early summer X decides to exercise his prerogative
the following winter. He informs one of the marshals of his
wish, and the latter summons his associates to the secret
meeting-place where the matter is debated at length. Danger
of exposure of details to the uninitiated is so great that the
marshals refuse permission for the performance unless the
would-be dancer is a man of proved reliability. Once this consent 575*
has been obtained, X quietly proceeds with his preparations, 796*
laying in supplies of food and asking his *kusiut* friends
for their assistance. When the dances begin, X attends as do
all other *kukusiut*, though his secret mental excitement increases
as the time draws near for him to perform. The exact
time of starting is discussed with the marshals, and a prelimi-

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*There are other *kusiotem* dancers in Bella Coola.

*
575 land of the salmon early in January, and it is owing to his
*796 successful raid that there is a plentiful supply of fish the fol-
776 lowing year. The fact that the Bella Coola attribute the same
825 function to *Noākχnm* provides no difficulties to native philosophers.

184 "Different individuals have different stories," they say, and
824 the fact that the two are contradictory is a matter of no consequence.

●773 The incidents described in the following myth are always
824 spoken of as having taken place long ago, and yet the coming of *Winwina* is an annual event, a confusion disconcerting to
825 the investigator though not to the Bella Coola themselves.
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Winwina[44] once led a raiding party against the salmon, whose home is far to the west, and against the berries who live in a flat and warm country beyond even the land of salmon. His crew consisted of birds who are spoken of in the myth by unusual designations, said to be either their supernatural or their *kusiut* names. One informant spoke of these beings as individuals, and only added that they were birds as an afterthought, while another emphasized their avian rather than their human characteristics. This is not surprising, considering that the story belongs to the distant past when birds and human beings were not as clearly differentiated as they now are. *Winwina*'s crew consisted of:

The Bald Eagle, *Tcākwak*;

The Hawk (?) species, *Ānukiqaksaix*;

The Raven, *'Łuxwaqsālaix*, "He Who Talks at Dawn and Wakens Everyone";

The Water Ouzel, *Tłikmaxotāluka*, "The Walking One";

The Great Blue Heron, *Masaxilian*, "Long Neck";

The Hermaphrodite, *Ala'yao*;

The Cormorant, *Kwakwāk'la*, who joined the expedition at Bella Bella as a passenger;

Four lazy supernatural beings, *Kāmālālkl*.

The expedition was under the especial protection of *Kolxeta*, a female supernatural shaman, who guided the canoe in which the raiders travelled by the force of her intellect as if it had been a compass. After a lengthy journey, the party reached the land of the salmon where the clouds obligingly drifted low in the heavens so that the fish could not see their

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[192] [44] A word etymologically connected with *wina*, the Bella Coola term for *raid*.

[The Dance of Winwina]

foes. Each of the crew captured a different kind of salmon which, in the myth, are referred to by their supernatural names. 773

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The Bald Eagle captured the spring salmon, *Oltoldimut*, "The One that Changes Itself," a reference to the two forms in which this fish appears before and after spawning.

The Hawk captured the sockeye salmon, *Nunutākentınım*, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers."

The Raven captured the hump-back salmon, *Ānukpımaix*, "The One that Fills the Rivers."

The Water Ouzel captured the dog salmon, *Sgaieltwa*, "The Maker of Good Weather," a reference to the calm weather in August when this fish spawns.

The Great Blue Heron captured the cohoe salmon, *K̓papstustusailaix*, "The One that Makes Us Fat."

The Cormorant captured a variety of dog salmon, *Osipax*, for the Bella Bella.

The Hermaphrodite was also successful and filled the enormous basket which he had brought for the purpose with a large number of berry captives.

As soon as the raiders had achieved their purpose they returned to Bella Coola and released their booty; since that time there has been an abundance of salmon in the river and of berries on the hills. The Cormorant left the canoe at Bella Bella and released the dog salmon there; that is why this variety of fish has since been plentiful at Bella Bella.

Several Bella Coola *kukusiut* have a dance prerogative of which the above is origin myth. The details vary slightly, and some informants stated frankly that they had forgotten the names of the bird crew. The reasons given for the use of *Winwina* as patron likewise vary. According to one account, in the beginning of time *Ālquntām* placed the name *Nunuskımai* in a repository near the summit of the lofty Mount *Qo*, near *Stuıx*. He had two reasons for so doing: he did not wish it to be defiled by passersby brushing dust into it with their feet, and he wished the owner of the name to be the first to see the return of *Winwina*. The repository is a small pond, which can move from place to place, but, being itself supernatural, is visible only to those who have purified themselves. Since that time whoever has had the name *Nunuskımai* has had the *kusıut* prerogative of seeing *Winwina*.

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778
[776]

[The Dance of Winwina]

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●773 Another *kusiut* derived the prerogative of having *Winwina* as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 43). After
776 Raven had seen *Noäkxnm* and obtained him for *Ällihmnälosaix*, he flew down the fiord once more, observed *Winwina*, and made him patron for *Omqomkilika*.

*575 The ritual of the dance of *Winwina* does not vary, irre-
*796 spective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

[778] This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository
[424] is actually in the ocean a few yards from shore.

Winwina is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the
[184] January moon is full;[87] accordingly X consults the marshals and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a raised enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *kusiut* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *kukusiut* happen to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking westward for the return of *Winwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X
[292] wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the west, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *kukusiut* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

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[805] [87] Owing to faulty calendrical observations the exact date is seldom found.

* 575 *kukusiut* send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two
* 796 by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial
is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

[773] As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land
[777] above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial
[753] is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys
health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill.
The uninitiated believe that several *kukusiut* have the
[424] prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial
season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a
[178] useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on
the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly
[164] carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century.
The following account was obtained from two old men
[115] who remembered the manner in which a certain *Onikotl* of
Tcamotl performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness."
Neither of the informants was a *kúsiut* at the time, but they
were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with
what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following
account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in
detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and
describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed
at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kusiotem* dances in many respects. X
must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding
summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective
dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a
[283] number of *kukusiut* women to help him by making a very long
and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women
gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking
[688] care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort
is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break
would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

*575 natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is
*796 usually added that the animal in question is the one resident
776 in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary
river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to
825 follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded
●[773] to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his
house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he
objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the
stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed
[821 his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that
226] time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As
far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who
is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring.
Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to
[532] doubt. For the *nebusam* of her protégé, a number of masks
representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared.
When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised
figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the
fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakänus*, the
supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the
ritual of the dance, known as *osnäxmunaix*, was not obtained.
The similarity between *Dakdakänus* and *Dakdakänmem*, those
who await *Noäkɣnm*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance
[192] in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning
"to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection
with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

*575

THE DANCE OF *Ălmoqltaikila*

*796 In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ăno°likwolsaix* has a hus-
776 band, *Ălmoqltaikila*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers.
184 His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to
[755]

(c) An incident in the dancer's ancestral myth; one of his forefathers succeeded in shaming a rival chief. 533*

(d) Many origin myths describe houses, provided by *Älquntäm* for the first settlers, which expanded of their own accord to accommodate guests at potlatches. The reference is to one of these, although it was impossible to record the myth itself. [773] ●

Song Used for Qowi of Kimsquit(a)

A	*Pålxexollaix*	*stä'äbsaolt*	*Skiḱiyukipdai*	*aiyadisiyutnis*
	Rouse yourselves for it,	ye residents!	See which is my supernatural being(b).	

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Nexliwakxtuksdax*	*duklāliyimdax*	*skänuamtaxis*	*was·walxtämilais*
	At the bottom(c)	the first-comer(d)	seated himself	of our provided food(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part, if it ever existed, has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. *Qowi* was his mother's brother.
(b) The dancer's associates are invited to gather to witness his performance.
(c) That is: The mouth.
(d) Referring to one of the dancer's earliest ancestors.
(e) The reference is to the Kimsquit River which teems with salmon; the dancer describes the fish as the fare provided for his ancestral family by *Älquntäm*.

Song Used for Qowi of Kimsquit (a)

A or B(b)	*Litwamaxollaix*	*ye·stä'äbsaolt*	*Tutwinamisandai*
	Go out and see,	ye residents!	It is apparent(c)

diyälxoisai	*diqwnutsltuts·a*	*dunultẋämätlımlo*
what travels everywhere(d),	what brings our food(e)	from its home(f).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C	*Diẏmaqolsun*	*distälimẋdax*	*Łixlixkilika(g)* *Łixlixkihka*;	*ditsqwaqwakmis*
	That is	the chief		he carries a heavy burden(h)

waänupäsdai	*ḱonoltẋämätlımlo*
in his canoe	from his land.

[776
424]

(a) Recorded as song VII D 8a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Only two of the three parts are remembered.
(c) The actual meaning of *tutwinam* is: What is Apparent. Its use in this case is, therefore, an untranslatable pun.

*533 (*d*) A somewhat boastful reference to the power of the dancer's *tutwinam*.

[776] (*e*) Another arrogant reference to the *tutwinam*.

(*f*) In Bella Bella.

[424] (*g*) This is a Bella Bella being of whom little is known by the Bella Coola. The right to use him as *tutwinam* came from a remote ancestor.

(*h*) Presumably, the dancer's right to perform.

Fragment of a Song Used for Ḳaqaix, a Kimsquit Man(*a*)

A	*Alḳusmaswitn*	*waslixwnimutap*	*Sâlxsnnsnâmûsu*
	Protect your faces,	you quiet people!	Is always shooting arrows

ḳwaltuntaiyadslaix
my crest(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

Aẓtwainu	*kâsplmaxwamdinitl*
Don't do that,	they will cover us with valuables(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 29b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to be an extremely ancient one, used by some of the earliest settlers; the tune is said to be entirely different from any recent *susaek* compositions.

[424] [825] ● [773] (*b*) The dancer's crest was the wasp, an insect which is believed to sting by the discharge of invisible, minute arrows. This admonition to the guests to hide their faces was, of course, a boasting reference to the goods which would be distributed at the approaching potlatch. None of the first settlers was sent down to earth as a wasp, but several, including *Noâkila*, were guided and assisted by those insects to such an extent that they have been regarded as crests.

[558] [424] (*c*) It is customary, when quoting this song, to add this final remark. It is related that, many years ago, a Kimsquit man used his wasp prerogative, but was shamed at the potlatch by being inundated with goods from a rival. Since that time, none of his descendants has dared to use the right and the admonition against doing so has become almost proverbial.

Fragment of a Song Used for Nuqwikmlaix of Kimsquit(*a*)

A	*Qexsodjilkwao*	*skâlpolmildai*	*Diḳwplẓdusdai*	*waânupâsâls*
	We all go	to see(*b*).	He(*c*) informs us	of what he carries.

B and *C* No more of this song is remembered, though it was used at a potlatch about 1910.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 59b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.

(*b*) Meaning: To gaze upon something supernatural.

(*c*) An unnamed supernatural being.

533*

ḍmusmālixmanuẋst	*aiyawasoyo·nẋwals*
he circled and returned	*Song*^{wr}.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 39a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [727]

(*b*) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning.

(*c*) A reference to *Wixat*, one of *Sinuẋsil*'s first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Skeena, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendant are compared with those of his pattern, that is, his first forbear. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]

(*d*) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song(a) Used by Qwoyusditsas of Kimsquit(b)

A *Kaiyumsamālsan*	*di stālitaiāmẋdai*	*kaiiṗainuxits*
Presently he will be ashamed	that chief	if I get

aiyadilālialsdai
my copper.

(*a*) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 34b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xe·tla Song Used by Sinuẋsil of Kimsquit(a)

A *Sānusikqomoslsandai*	*yao* (*b*) *diḳxatcaiyailtumdai*	*Oldiḳaxlāmitlisandai*
They are smiling,	greetings to the out-stretched glass!	They drink

sawāls qomcuadja
the food of white men(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B and *C* have been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) Literally: *Hello*!

(*c*) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [273]

A'alk SONGS

A'alk songs somewhat resemble *sısaok* ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

*593 [575] [799] bered, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. *A'alk* themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths; whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the *kusiut* season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

Ḳi'nqa Song Used for Nuximätllaix, a Man of Kimsquit(a)

A *Yeyutsämatotolaix*	*diälimilsudai*	*duxḳwunlaixdsulldai*
They give valuable counsel,	my goods(*b*);	they formulate their own opinion

oldiḳomätsdulsdai	*aiyaskät-aiämkilsdai*	*oldiamtsainulilsdai*
concerning to whom of those seated in my house I shall give presents(*c*).		

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kä'ālaiyusdjmalsandja*	*skäkilḳimodjmils*	*Wasältwinmodjdumani'*
I speak loftily	of everything(*d*).	Through them(*e*)

silḳwalstlimads-wals	*itlimstaiämdids-ls*	*aiyawamän-uksalsals*
I become elevated,	my power to give potlatches [is]	my male relatives(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Känunukäwmimidsmals*	*dusnul'ḳänäls-kidax*	*dununulḳänumtskidax*
Presently I shall stand	within the box	at the corner door(*g*),

sxälxäldimutdämkis	*dusnuskmnäls-kidax*	*Ïmalosdimutsudax*
where flowed to all(*h*)	the moose-skins(*i*)	of Ïmalosdimut(*j*)(*k*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 31a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(*d*) Refers to the dancer's many prerogatives.

(*e*) Refers to his male relatives.

[424] (*f*) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, traced patrilineally.

[773] (*g*) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 329). The house of his first forefather, *uyuyuyul*, had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.

(*h*) That is: Whence were distributed at potlatches.

*533

B *Yaswinmuitqndukidax*	*skäklälimdax*	*titilitsqndudax*
He agreed	to being dropped(*c*),	he spoke the eagle language cheerfully.

Aiyasxmcuatudax
Xemcua(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The last part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 32a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) That is: Which my forefathers displayed.
(*c*) It is said that some of the first settlers were unwilling to be sent down to earth.
[773] (*d*) *Xemcua*, one of the dancer's first ancestors, came to earth in eagle form and accordingly spoke the language of these birds.

Fragment of a Tl̓aiyākam Song Used for Sinuqail of Kimsquit

Naslimaktukimq	*dak'lalimdax*	*skanuamtā'xis*	*manusl*
It is ready;	his . . . . . .(*a*) that was sent down	has taken its stand	at Dean River(*b*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[424] (*a*) The term signifies any object, whether tangible or intangible, sent down from above in the beginning of time. In this case it refers to the dancer's *Tl̓aiyākam* prerogative.
(*b*) A reference to the coming to earth of *Smaam*. See vol. I, p. 332.

THEMES DRAWN FROM CURRENT EVENTS

Nusqual Song Used for Nuqnqámis, a Kimsquit Man(*a*)

A *Tcālyurkmdax*	*skālixwnlilnatip*	*tamkāsitwalidis*
Let us stop	elevating(*b*) him(*c*);	he uses without authority

xwskwaitstadimutax
a chief's name(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Qastixwakdukk*ʷ	*yao dixitāmnuyāmdals*	*sqalipump*	*ali'ālim-idsals*
Is feeble	the dancer(*e*);	let him accept from me	what he likes(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Alaisdudax*	*dixiaxklualtāmis*	*sqofalikudals*
He was likewise(*g*)	my first forefather(*h*);	I summon guests

aiyuwatwimamtulals
for what I am about to display(*i*).

*533 (*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
[776] (*b*) Presumably a reference to *Noākxnm*, the dancer's *kusiut* patron(?).
[192] (*c*) The meaning of this word is not known; it is considered to be quite distinct from the identical term in Chinook jargon for "deer."
(*d*) The meaning of the whole song is extremely obscure.

MARRIAGE SONGS

*533 As marriage songs, two distinct classes may be considered:
585 A. Those used at weddings;
[586] B. Shaming songs used in connection with divorce rites.
[578] The former are said to have been handed down from the distant past and consist of a few almost meaningless words. The latter are composed whenever required, and consist of foul allusions to the person being ridiculed.

WEDDING SONGS

Stuix Marriage Song(*a*)

Nunusqwāldimutqwsanitl	*yao ixlāqwlaiyulao*	*āltusaqwnainugis*
Danced for joy	*Qwlaiyu*(*b*)	when they brought

ai'ailmnanaodax	*yao dutxasxr·msudax*
the girl	from the place of light(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 3b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

[773] (*b*) *Qwlaiyu* came down with *uyuyuyut* in the beginning of time, and brought, as a gift from *Ālquntām*, the prerogative of dancing at weddings. He landed at
[424] Kimsquit, and no explanation is given by the Bella Coola for the use of this song by the people of *Stuix*.

[773] (*c*) A reference to a marriage among the first people on earth. One of *Qwlaiyu*'s associates married a woman whose relatives had brought light with them from above.

Kimsquit Marriage Song(*a*)

Sāk'lālālimqwsuduks	*yao daxomtnlalaoals*	*wasāsqolxnasdomdax*
They sent down	*Xomtsla*(*b*)	with his relative

yao ixlāqwlāyulaoals
Qwlaiyu (*c*)(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 2b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(*b*) *Xomtsla* came down from above with *ısyuyuyut* in the beginning of time; he had the prerogative of dancing at weddings. 533*

(*c*) *Qwlaiyu* likewise came down with *ısyuyuyut*, bringing the same prerogative as *Xomtsla*. 585

(*d*) The rest of this song has been forgotten. [773] [424]

Fragmentary and short as are these songs, they are more elaborate than many used at weddings. These frequently contain no words, merely an ancient tune accompanied by humming and meaningless choral interjections.[4]

SHAMING SONGS

533* 586 578 [585]

Songs of this type are sung by the singers while the principal performer dances; in this respect, they resemble *sısaok* compositions and differ entirely from the abbreviated and individualistic wedding songs. Though used primarily to shame a runaway husband or wife, one is sometimes employed on other occasions.

Song Used for No·q̈wna(a), a Kimsquit Woman(b)

A	*Yelakaix*	*dalima*	*Mustelos*	*sälnaixtus*	*dämnalıcaiya'a*
	Has too much	looted	*Mustelos*(*c*)	further,	he has taken with her

tcakwaäkusltumal	*dämnälıcaiya'a*
my child, *Tcäkwaäkus*(*d*),	he has taken with her(*e*).

[103]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Sänolq̈oldimut*	*sawästätımmmtsals*	*ikät·äkänutsaixts*
	Be brave,	mothers(*f*),	when I speak of your ugliness(*g*);

aläskdjultslimanap	*wanusq̈wdsätsahmyals*
you have had much trouble,	your breasts have become long and pendant.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(*a*) This word means "The one (feminine) with the very hairy pudenda." The woman in question had run away from her husband and the nickname was conferred at this shaming *lıaiyäkam* rite. [551] [553]

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[4] Two examples of such wordless songs were collected. They are song VII D 2a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard, and song VII D 3a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Lame Charlie.

533*

siälkiyuktemisandax	*Tlaowika'lis*	*Tixilqilsmaisandax*
all, everywhere, know of	*Tlaowika'lis*(*ee*).	They(*ff*) crossed repeatedly

yao oldutcawätsudax
to *Tcawat*(*gg*).

(*a*) The first four parts of this song were recorded as song VII D 7a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said to have been composed about 1870 for a chief whose son had been drowned. It was later used for a nephew of *Qowi*, and will henceforth be employed only by members of that family. [424]

(*b*) That is: Why has my son died?

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain translations of each subdivision.

(*d*) Referring to the dead son.

(*e*) That is: The supernatural being, the chief, has taken him. The reference is to the deceased's crest animal, a common rhetorical device in songs.

(*f*) An ancestor of the deceased and one of the first settlers of the world. He came down to Rivers Inlet.

(*g*) *Tlakwakila* is said to have widened, or even to have made, the principal river at Rivers Inlet. [773]

(*h*) *Tlakwakila* came in the form of a raven.

(*i*) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(*j*) It was impossible to obtain translations of these two subdivisions. *Qwinao*, now dead, will be irremovably connected with the scenes of his first ancestor.

(*k*) Meaning Raven.

(*l*) The mother of *Qwinao* who had died several years earlier.

(*m*) The theme now changes as if *Qowi* were addressing *Qwinao*.

(*n*) Referring to *Qwinao*.

(*o*) Refers to the supernatural beings who rouse the sun and moon and thus cause their light to shine on earth. Mention is made of these in *Qwinao*'s origin myth. [776, 821]

(*p*) The theme changes again from direct address to *Qwinao* to a description of what he will be doing owing to his ancestral history.

(*q*) That is: He will be in the form of one of the guardians of light when his life descends, at a memorial potlatch, to Rivers Inlet.

(*r*) That is: That was what *Waäkus* brought. *Waäkus*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, could not find a suitable place to settle in the beginning of time. After fruitless wandering, a whale emerged, vomited violently, and was changed to stone. The animal thus became Goose Island, and its vomit the rugged rocks at one end. *Waäkus* settled on that island. [773] [823]

(*s*) This song has three third parts.

(*t*) That is: The first people, with their shaman-like power, had just appeared.

(*u*) Referring to *ts'wunaisa*, another of *Qwinao*'s first ancestors, who also came to earth at Rivers Inlet.

(*v*) At that time the routes between different settlements had not been discovered.

(*w*) More specifically, the coarse, long breast feathers.

(*x*) *ts'wunaisa* used a supernatural canoe which frequently changed to eagle feathers. [773]

(*y*) Refers to Sea-lion Island where he and his descendants used to hunt.

(*z*) Refers to the Bella Bella; several of *Qwinao*'s relatives had married members of that tribe.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(*h*) That is: I incorporate myself into.

(*i*) The reference is to another of *Sinugati*'s myths dealing with the coming to earth of *Hamot* near Kimsquit. *Nunuqsmāls* was the name of his house. 533*

(*j*) Referring to Goose Island once more.

(*k*) That is: Goose Island where our relatives, the Bella Bella, get their food, had just emerged and become visible. It was impossible to obtain a separate translation of these two subdivisions.

(*l*) Referring again to Goose Island. This small piece of land is shaped like a whale, and, as already described, it was originally one. *Alquntām* bade the animal come to the surface to be changed to stone; then *Watks* settled there as soon as the water had dried from what had been its back. [773] [823]

(*m*) The literal translation of each subsection may be inaccurate.

Song Used for Yeālos of Kimsquit(*a*)

A	*Yenaskāndax*	*wakwalnndai*	*sūkwmaixlnndai*	*disonqʷsndai*
	It is good(*b*);	our(*c*)?	has lifted	the sky(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B	*Q̓āqwaxqalsandai*(*e*)	*disiutsndai*	*skāaiyaldumdai*
	He was Raven(*f*),	the supernatural one	when he descended

dimalhnikāsdai
the post(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C	*Smaqwla xlinndai*	*distālimqdai*	*yeyālosdai*	*sālifblisdai*
	He is bright(*h*),	the chief	Yeālos;	he carries

siāxwalākluixs	*dālālās-udai*
a unique	copper(*i*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 47a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been composed over one hundred years ago and since used repeatedly.

(*b*) With the significance of: It is highly satisfactory.

(*c*) The meaning of this word is obscure. It refers to the crest of *Yeālos* with the added implication of a memorial. It applies to the memorial rite being given. [765]

(*d*) When a chief dies, it is said that the people in their grief feel as if the sky were pressing them down. A memorial rite lessens their sorrow and lifts the burden. [152]

(*e*) When this word was being sung for the phonograph, the singer erred and replaced it by part of the first word of the third part.

(*f*) That is: He was in the form of a raven. The reference is to one of the first ancestors of *Yeālos*.

(*g*) Meaning one of the posts which stretched between earth and sky in the beginning of time. [773]

(*h*) This refers to *Yeālos*. He was formerly weighed down with grief, but by giving a memorial rite he is like the sun as it shines out brilliantly from behind the clouds.

(*i*) A reference to a special kind of copper mentioned in the chief's origin myth.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 55, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal-is* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. 533*

(*b*) So many of *Yaatha*'s ancestors had been drowned that he considered such a fate to be an inheritable tendency and mourned accordingly. This song was composed for a memorial potlatch held after the drowning of three of his sons. [761] [827]

(*c*) *Xem* means, literally, the successive rising of the sun from day to day; it has therefore, the significance of: The span of life is shortening. [195]

(*d*) This wail replaces the usual wordless chorus.

(*e*) Raven. This is one of his rarely used chief's names.

(*f*) The reference is to an incident related about Raven in the beginning of time. He made, and gave life to a son who was his chief joy and delight. *Alquntam* wondered what the creature might be and sent down one of his eagle-like supernatural birds to seize him. Raven, ignorant of the reason for his son's loss and with no idea that he was being carefully guarded, was absolutely disconsolate. The myth is recorded in vol. I, p. 83. [773]

SHAMAN SONGS

533*
756

In contrast to the carefully prepared and logically worded mourning songs, many of those used by shamans are extremely incoherent. This is natural in view of the belief, already described, that the words and tune are given to a sick person at the time that he is cured. Those who recover from an illness are convinced that they must have received a supernatural visitation, and at once begin to ponder on the song brought to them at that time. A person of imaginative temperament easily persuades himself that the words which begin to form in his mind were actually brought by an agent, and, having thus deluded himself, it is easy for him to convince others. The coherence of the text thus depends upon the ability of the patient, a factor which explains the extreme lack of skill in many compositions. The examples here given are, perhaps, unusually complete. [753]

Song Used by Ninitsamlaix(a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

A Wa'ɛmlmalsmmqmnla In the beginning(*c*)	*ohänínitsmlaiqus* the life-giving power(*d*) was made;
yao dlal aiqaitul that is what we have given	*aldtmalslimnmudal* within them(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*f*)

*533 (i) A reference to the leading supernatural beings.

(j) That is: Unable to participate in the meeting at which it was decided to send the dance down to *Smmkla'hs.*

Third Song Used for Smmkla'hs, a Bella Coola Fungus Dancer(a)

A *Sätlamhdjuɫ'ldumilnln* | *djiszigsustamagnlaonls* | *sinukualamnls*
All(b) have failed, | they(c) have decided | to send it(d) down

semsaikmsstantlanls
to mortals(e).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Warnuisthlitam-alnksdai* | *dälai-sleunmdai* | *yao diskpumlaixlsndai*
No one soils | what we see(f); | it warms us(g),

aiaunatlatla
hail, *Smmtlatla(h)!*

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Smmqsisamnalitsdai* | *yao dinaixlimalitamdai* | *dikalkpsdjudimtamkalisdai*
I heard the growling of a *smmq(i)* | as they(j) were preparing matters(k),

smnsaiks-alsinaasunls
the skeleton(l) was as a bed to it(m).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 24a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song, composed by Kimsquit Alec, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.

(b) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(c) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(d) Referring to the Fungus dance.

(e) The significance is that the supernatural beings, having failed to raise the Fungus, have sent it down for human beings to try. The words used imply that it has been sent as a patient to a doctor. This boastful phrasing is to impress the uninitiated.

(f) That is: What we see, the Fungus, is bright, shining, and unsoiled.

(g) The meaning is obscure, perhaps that the sight of the supernatural object strengthens the beholders.

(h) No reason could be learnt for this reference to *Smmtlatla.*

(i) The composer assumed that the dancer's patron was a *smmq.* It was impossible to obtain an individual translation of these two subdivisions.

(j) Referring to the supernatural beings.

(k) That is: As they were discussing the sending down of the Fungus.

[775] (l) This refers to a skeleton, belonging to *Alquntäm,* which remains in the rear part of *Nusmät·a.* It is frequently mentioned in song but no detailed information about it could be obtained.

(m) That is: The Fungus was resting upon the skeleton. Such references, not fully understood even by the *kukusiut,* increase the awe and wonder of the uninitiated.

(*d*) This is addressed to the uninitiated, one of whom has guessed correctly. 533*
(*e*) The assumption is that this has been done with the aid of *Anuqmntnikmm*.
(*f*) Referring to the supernatural beings above.
(*g*) That is: To utter her supernatural droning cry.
(*h*) The reference is to *Sno'alnlts Alquntam*, the dancer's patron. The meaning of the whole passage is obscure but seems to be as follows: *Sno'alnlts Alquntam* was perturbed at the coming of the call to his protégé and, to help their fellow, the other supernatural beings called upon *Snitsmán-a* to drone. This sound has a healing effect and would, therefore, enable human beings to solve the mystery. The phraseology is intentionally obscure. [776]

Song Used for Willie Johnston(a), a Bella Coola Thunder Dancer(b)

A *Skamálnutwinmutsals*	*didandakaw·áldai*	*sipáyantcam·állsandai*
I have just heard	it(*c*) coming down;	it changes its voice

alnalsalalilals
above our heads(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Stirwutsamlimililika*	*dikusiutstenáasuals*	*yao skáoskimánldisdai*
They asked plainly	the *kusiut*(*e*)	to lead the frenzied beating of sticks(*f*)

sawaqulswailals
at the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Saálktmaslamililika*	*wahalalswaláltimats*	*dásnustkik'limlsandai*
Too many to be seen	are those called(*g*);	when they increased

dinutsymalisdimatldumdai
the water(*h*).

(*a*) The Bella Coola name of the dancer was unfortunately omitted.
(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 57, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, announcer and prompter, assisted by *Tal-io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4.
(*c*) Referring to the call.
(*d*) It is doubtful whether this statement is more than a rhetorical device to impress the uninitiated.
(*e*) Referring to Thunder.
(*f*) Thunder, one of the most powerful of the supernatural *kukusiut*, has the prerogative of leading the orchestra of stick beaters to "cure" a fellow-dancer. The song states that his fellows requested him to perform this function. [776]
(*g*) That is: So many are in attendance that they cannot be recognized. The reference is to Thunder's dance in the land above, for which the supernatural *kukusiut* assemble from all directions. [773] ●
(*h*) The allusion is to the rain which follows Thunder's dance. [821]

Song Used for Xelitmai, Combined with Mourning for Yākotlus(a)

*533 A *Alaiyulsilulsuka* | *wasilliyuhum-idjutalts* | *sinigayeniltslsandja*
I kept talking to myself as if I were crazy when I was near(*b*)

alnuskāsiutsta
the repository(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Yao kā'āmānuskkisqudax* | *taiayākotlaiyes-udax* | *losāxāxlāmamtomdax*
Presently, now, | Yākotlus(*d*) | will do as

yao tatitiiliitlitskidax
the eagle-voiced one(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Qānembolimqulsandax* | *yao xwtāshumstām-is-kidax* | *yao alixlsolitstomdax*
They(*f*) give him | the covering(*g*); | hail to the provided food

aiaxemcuasudax | *dāsialkigalocimdax* | *yao tātutwinmix*ʷ*dax*
of *Xemcua*(*h*); | the smoking(*i*) | is visible(*j*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 18a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The exact relationship between *Xelitmai* and *Yākotlus* could not be learnt.

(*b*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

(*c*) This first part of the song follows the usual *kusiut* pattern; the words are arranged as if the neophyte were addressing the uninitiated.

(*d*) The dead man who is being mourned. The theme is now of the usual mourning type.

[773] (*e*) A reference to *Xemcua*, one of the first settlers of the earth and an ancestor of *Yākotlus*. As described (1, p. 326), *Xemcua* came to earth in eagle form and remained calling for food. This is an onomatopoeic word.

(*f*) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.

(*g*) That is: The form of an eagle. The theme continues as a mourning song, describing the fate of the deceased.

(*h*) That is: The food brought down by *Xemcua* as a gift from *Ālquntām*. Olachen was the provender supplied to him.

(*i*) A reference to Mount *Smaky*, from which flames are said to have burst forth within the last century and a half.

(*j*) *Smaky*, being the road of *Xemcua*, is delighted to welcome one of his descendants and shows his pleasure by blazing merrily.

Song Used for Ālokānam, Combined with Mourning for Yākotlus(a)

A *Ālimal-aulimaqs* | *yao nuskāsiutsta* | *skānuyhlxwolstumlsandai*
They(*b*) measure | the repository; | it is opened

alkamalamakoals
to its extreme bottom(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Istawixwenukuāls* | *waqwatiltentaialaoals* | *sawa'amīnālosdisdax*
It is so(*d*); | the two(*e*) crests | had seated himself between

yeakotlaios·udax | *dānuxtmmdimutlsndax* | *āldiskwatstaiāmlidals*
Yākotles(*f*); | he binds them together(*g*) | and the name likewise(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Was·amqwatltnmqwdudai* | *umālakslteminilsdai* | *diālisaiyāk'limdai* |
Älquntām was the first creator in the beginning of time; we still profit from

diālquntāmaotskiāls | *Dinmqwatltnosamdai* | *disexsexqālaixqaoals*
his works(*i*). | As my memorial (?) is | *Sexsexqālaix*(*j*).

(*a*) The exact relationship between *Älokānam* and *Yākotles* could not be ascertained. The first twelve subdivisions of this song were recorded as song VII D 52, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie.
(*b*) Presumably referring to the supernatural beings.
(*c*) This part of the song is worded as if the neophyte were addressing the uninitiated; the meaning is intentionally obscure, though obviously boastful.
(*d*) That is: It is true.
(*e*) Referring to two crests owned by the deceased; the song has changed to a mourning theme.
(*f*) That is: *Yākotles* has seated himself midway between the two crests.
(*g*) By incorporating himself into both.
(*h*) The whole song was extremely difficult to translate and this reference to a name was absolutely unintelligible.
(*i*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these four subdivisions; in fact, even the free translation may be inaccurate.
(*j*) *Sexsexqālaix* appears in the dancer's ancestral myth, but no real explanation could be obtained for mentioning him at this point.

Song Used for Ealul'nimut, Combined with Mourning for Yākotles(*a*)

A *Skal'makxomālitsdax* | *dānux·msmaiyudjaltsdjā* | *olda-ālnānulitsdax*
He(*b*) meets a supernatural being who gives him the words of a mourning song

skulnkānmutsmilsdax | *aiātāmānākltsalts* | *oldālkawamsmisdax*
for his father; then he proceeds to the land above(*c*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Seligahmalnndax* | *yaiyakotlaios·udax* | *skanuamtaialtsisdax*
Wants the best | *Yākotles*(*d*); | he sits down within

dutsākwālotlloadax | *dukwalxwalulitdax* | *kāmātsoyo·nqwskidax*
the expansible house(*e*); | they lengthen | *Kāmātsonq*ʷ(*f*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

*533 C *Ka'asχwmālosqwisundax* | *Tlākwakilasudax* | *ālialāliasudax*
Is like a fire | *Tlākwakila*(*g*) | the copper of(*h*);

skī·kpāltomqwisundax | *χdukukpiyasudax* | *aialnukiadjidax*
has carried him round(*i*) | his grandfather | *Nukiadji*(*j*).

(*a*) Recorded as songs VII D 5 and VII D 6a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. VII D 5 is a two-minute record, and as the song was too long, the last part of it was concluded on VII D 6. This resembles an ordinary mourning song, and is said to have been used formerly as one at Kimsquit. During the season of 1923-4, however, it was used at a *kusiut* dance given by *Łuluł'nimut*, son of the deceased *Yākotles*.

(*b*) Referring to the dead *Yākotles*.

(*c*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these six subdivisions, and even the free interpretation may be inaccurate.

(*d*) That is: *Yākotles* wants the best. The meaning is that the dead man is seeking out the finest elements in his ancestral myths.

● [773] (*e*) Referring to a house at *Nusqalst* used by his first forefathers; it had the power of expanding so as to provide room for all who came to potlatches.

[551] (*f*) The name of the house.

(*g*) A Bella Bella name owned by *Yākotles*.

(*h*) That is: The copper of *Yākotles* is bright and gleaming like a fire. The reference is to a copper mentioned in the deceased's ancestral myth; the article furbished itself in delight at the sight of one of its first owner's ancestors. Such boasting remarks are frequent in mourning songs.

(*i*) In the sense of: Around the places where his first forefathers ranged.

(*j*) That is: His grandfather, *Nukiadji*, carried him around the scenes of the experiences of his first forefathers. *Nukiadji* was a Kwakiutl chief.

Song Used for Sixman·a, Combined with Mourning for Yākotles(*a*)

A *Sumqqwmidjutailaitsllulɪ* | *a'lixayawidjutlalɪ* | *dāsālpalolχelts*
I was careful, I watched myself, when I felt strange(*b*); I rose above the ground(*c*) when I reached(*d*)

ālnuskāsiutsta
the repository(*e*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[551] B *Skāmālkukainulmqw'* | *yesānuximāxotsdāx* | *yesixwsuldimutlsandāx*
As soon as he saw | *Sānuximāxots*(*f*), | the lordly mountain(*g*)

yao dialkpālosximdāx
illuminated itself(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *Nuyālgukimmqwlsanitl* | *aiaqā·xkm'suitl* | *xuduāsu·lmislski*
Rejoiced | *Qakmr*(*i*), | she welcomed him(*j*)

tutstcākwālotlskilax
to the expansible house(*k*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 19a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4; the exact relationship of *Siẋman·a* to *Yākotles* could not be learnt. 533*

(*b*) *Siẋman·a* was being initiated into the *kusiut* society and this part of the song describes, for the benefit of those who were not members, her experiences when she discovered her repository. The theme states that she felt peculiar when she reached its neighbourhood.

(*c*) An expression inserted to impress the uninitiated.

(*d*) Individual translations for these three subdivisions could not be obtained.

(*e*) When this song was being recorded on the phonograph, the performer erred and substituted for this subdivision the following:

ālāmantaiasuals
where I went.

(*f*) One of the names of *Yākotles*. The theme here changes to the usual mourning type, describing the experiences of the deceased. [551]

(*g*) Referring to Mount *Swakẋ* near Kimsquit.

(*h*) This mountain is said to have been an active volcano within the last century and a half. The first ancestors of *Yākotles* landed upon its slopes, hence the mountain became wrapped up with their fortunes and showed its delight at welcoming one of their descendants.

(*i*) That is: *Q̇ākms* rejoiced. She was one of his first ancestresses.

(*j*) That is: *Q̇ākms* welcomed *Yākotles*.

(*k*) A house which figures in the origin myth of *Yākotles*. It had the ability of expanding to accommodate as many guests as assembled. [773]

Song Used for . . . . . (a), Combined with Mourning for Q̇omānakwala(b)

A *Ilā'anslāmaodja* | *ālāslainulitsdai* | *diuẋsultimutllsandai*
I(*c*) was in trouble, I was in fear, when I saw illuminate itself(*d*)

dismātlakilasudai
the place of petrified power(*e*). [773]

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *Kānulnustimutqwlsandai* | *Q̇omānakwalasudax* | *ikān·extiwan·uxim*
Is now established(*f*) | *Q̇omānakwala*(*g*) | at the place of

aldiskwatstaiāmlisdax
his established name(*h*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (*i*)

C *Kanuyālxikimmqwlsandax* | *yas·ānuximāxotsdāx* | *skāi·kpātltoyuqwlsandax*
Welcomed him(*j*) | *Sānuximāxets*(*k*) | and guided him around

ālāpaatlhntaiāmlisdax
the places of his crests(*l*).

*533 (*a*) A female infant whose name was not known by the singers from whom this song was obtained.

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 53, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tāl·io* Charlie and Steamboat Annie. This song, composed by *Tāl·io* Charlie, was used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of an infant great-granddaughter of *Q̇omānakwala*.

(*c*) Referring to the neophyte. This part of the song is worded for the benefit of the uninitiated.

(*d*) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.

● [773] (*e*) This might apply to any mountain where a group of the first settlers landed, but is said to refer to *Nusq̇alst*, the home of the dead man's ancestral family. The implication of the theme is that the mountain erupted; Mount *Nusq̇alst* is not regarded as a volcano, and it is possible that the composer confused the origin myth of the dead man with that recorded in the preceding four songs in which there are references to the illumination of Mount *Swaḳx* at Kimsquit. Such a mistake would not be impossible in view of the decadence of Bella Coola culture.

(*f*) In the sense of: Has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*g*) That is: *Q̇omānakwala* has rejoined his ancestral crest.

(*h*) That is: At the place where the first to possess his name came to earth.

(*i*) An unusually long wordless chorus separates the second from the third part.

(*j*) That is: *Q̇omānakwala*.

(*k*) That is: *Sānuximāxots* welcomed *Q̇omānakwala*. The former was one of the latter's first ancestors.

(*l*) A reference to the localities where his first forefathers came to earth.

[776] *Song Used for Lilitwumlaix*(*a*), *Combined with Mourning for Q̇omānakwala*(*b*)

A Aiyailaixdimutk̇isandai | *tap̣uxp̣uxx̣mlaixq̇odax* | *sawasālnimuk̇mistax* |
All is ready, proceed | thou "Opener"(*c*) | who brings what puts
yao ditcaitcaiyutslaix̣ao
an end to all our grief(*d*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B Ä̆ltciakımlimiisıka | *dastālımx̣ayakesldax*
He(*e*) is waiting with outstretched hand | for the chief(*f*);
sk̇ānuilım·ilxwisdax | *yutcākwaākaiyusudai*
now he stands upon | *Tcākwaāku*(*g*).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

[773] *C Skānuamtalālsisqudax* | *sawatcākwālotl·dadax* | *skāsnusık̇āls·mimqwlsandāx*
Sits down within | the expansible house(*h*) | *Snusık̇āls*(*i*)
xusānutk̇ımdimutsudai
on *Sānutk̇ımdimut*(*j*).

(*a*) "The Beautifier." This is one of the appellations of the infant's patron, the otter, so-called because people adorn themselves whenever an Otter dance is given. 533*

(*b*) Recorded as song VII D 16a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song was composed for, and used during the *kusiut* season of 1923-4 at the initiation of *Lilitwumlaix*, a female infant distantly related to *Q̇omānakwala*. [776]

(*c*) A reference to Otter, the neophyte's patron. The significance is that chiefs have an opportunity to display, "open," their generosity by lavish giving at every Otter dance. [556]

(*d*) The elaborate ritual of an Otter dance dispels grief. It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions.

(*e*) Referring to one of the dead man's ancestors. The theme changes, and is henceforth of the usual mourning pattern.

(*f*) Referring to the dead *Q̇omānakwala*.

(*g*) "The Loftiest." This is one of the many designations for *Nusq̇alst*, one of the dead man's crests.

(*h*) A reference to the expanding house described in the dead man's origin myth. [773]

(*i*) One of *Q̇omānakwala*'s names.

(*j*) This is another name for *Nusq̇alst*. The meaning of the whole part is: *Q̇omānakwala* sits down within the expansible house on Mount *Nusq̇alst*. There is the added implication that he seats himself as does his supernatural namesake in the land above.

NON-CEREMONIAL SONGS

The Bella Coola are not an intensely musical people. Singing in unison is an essential feature of every ceremonial rite, [796]* but, when alone, an individual seldom bursts into melody from sheer *joie de vivre*. They have, however, a certain number of non-ceremonial songs, shorter and more diverse in theme than any of those previously recorded. The people themselves do not attempt to classify them, though they can conveniently be grouped in accordance with their themes. Some deal with love, [825] others are sung jocularly at sight of certain birds or mammals, while a third class can only be described as miscellaneous. Still others accompany stories and games; these are included in vol. II, chap. V, and appendix B.[1]

LOVE SONGS

Men sometimes compose songs which they sing, unaccompanied, to their lady loves. Occasionally, too, the maker of a popular one will teach it to his friends who will serenade the 533* 832 424

[1] [See cat. 11b, pp. 543 to 567 - ANALYST]

524 Pass left middle finger distal to radial ring finger string and take up radial little finger string from proximal side.

Pass left index finger distal to radial middle finger string and take up radial ring finger string from proximal side.

With left thumb take up radial index finger string and radial middle finger string from proximal side, keeping the former distal.

With left index finger take up distal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left middle finger distal to distal ulnar index finger string and take up proximal radial thumb string from proximal side.

Pass left ring finger distal to distal ulnar middle finger string and take up distal ulnar index finger string from proximal side.

Pass left little finger distal to distal ulnar ring finger string and take up distal ulnar middle finger string from proximal side.

Release thumb, at the same time pulling with the right hand and the figure disappears. There appears to be no story attached to this figure.

II. THE FASTENINGS OF RAVEN'S PLUMAGE[18]

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb with long, pendant loops hanging down on palmar aspect of left hand.

Pass right thumb and index finger from distal side into left thumb loop, at the same time hooking down the two pendant strings with right middle, ring, and little fingers.

Separate right thumb and index finger; turn right hand upwards, and clockwise, without releasing strings hooked down by right fingers. The left radial thumb string should now run straight across to ulnar side of right thumb, and thence across its dorsal aspect to radial side of thumb, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The left ulnar thumb string should run straight across to ulnar side of right index finger, from where it is hooked down by the three fingers of the right hand. The distance between the hands should be about three inches; this must be maintained throughout the figure by allowing more string to pass through the hooked-down fingers of the right hand, as required.

[773
825]

[18] As already described, in the beginning of time many of the first-comers to earth floated down from above as ravens. It is assumed that the plumage of these birds must have been attached to the wearers in some way, the "fastenings" illustrated in this figure. On reaching earth, these coverings were taken off without difficulty, an action represented in this design by the facile loosening of the complicated meshwork of strings. This figure was collected from a man whose first ancestor came to earth as a raven; his descendant consequently stated that the pattern represented the specific fastenings of his own forefather's plumage.

B 825 757 by some old Bellacoola men to be good for sores, but my informant did not believe it.

C 825 Among the Ulkatcho it is numerous, but was not used, not even as a medicine.

B 825 A bumble-bee, identified as *Bombus appositus* Cresson, by Dr. H. J. Franklin, among the Bellacoola, was called Tikquanats or the large Skotl, Skotl being the name of three kinds of insects, a bumble-bee, a yellow jacket, and a hornet. It was not taken nor used, and was said to do no harm to people. My informant did not know whether it had a house or not. Neither did he know that it made honey until told so by white men. They say the bee took one of the prickers of the swamp gooseberry for a stinger, but my informant said he did not believe this. He thought it had a sting in its mouth, not in its tail, until I showed him. The Bellacoola have a story that a being considered by a little girl to be a man, but by an elder sister to be a bumble-bee, was once B [773] seen coming from the noonday sun. The little girl became blind, but her eyes appeared to be all right. Many thought she was made blind by too much sunlight when she looked at the man who was a bumble-bee.

C 825 226 Among the Ulkatcho, this bumble-bee was called Whultocho, *Whulto* being the name of a yellow jacket, and *cho* meaning large. *Whus* or *Whis* means pricker. The bumble-bee was not used as fish bait.

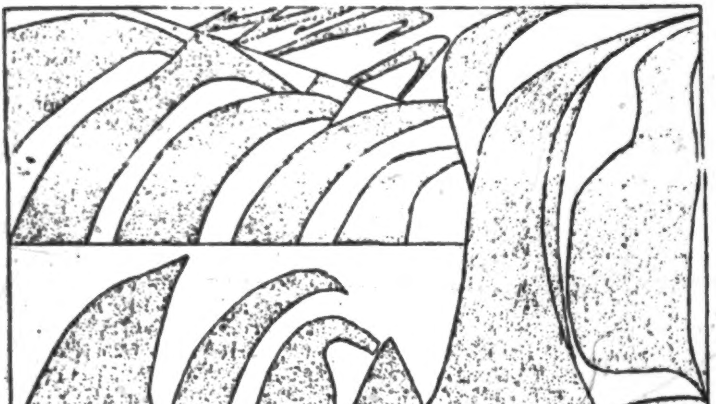
B 825 An insect, probably the hornet, is called Slow lowstl, by the Bellacoola, who say it has a little white on the tail and makes a small nest in a tree in July.

The yellow jacket among the Bellacoola was called Quolalaits (Clolaclaylaits) (Clolaclaylaits skotl) while all three kinds of insects, the bumble-bee, the yellow jacket and the hornet, were called Skotl. The yellow jacket was known to make a nest. The nest was used in sympathetic magic or witchcraft as follows: B [754] When one wished to cause the child of one's enemy to grow up to be a quarrelsome person, the nest of the yellow-jacket was burned and the ashes rubbed on the child. When the child grew up he or she would fight with everyone.

tribes. The crest is represented in paintings on the house-front and on 614
dancing implements.

The gens Tōk·oā'is has a killer-whale (*Delphinus orca*) painted on the 614
house-front (fig. 1). The tradition says that the ancestor of this gens 532

FIG. 3.—Crest of the gens Smō'ᴇɴ, showing the mountain Suwā'kᴜʜ, with two clouds near its summit; above a mackerel sky. 342 773 ●



one day, when hunting in the mountains, found a house on which a killer was painted. The chief who lived in the house invited him and presented him with his crest for himself and for his descendants. The crest consists of the killer-whale, eagle, swan, and heron.

The crests of all gentes were obtained in like manner.

614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (*k·'ᴇnts*), of the crow, and of
532 the black bear.

342 The gens TumQoā'akyas use the mask of Ōnᴇstsitō'ma (=the sleeper) and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumō'ot of the Nusk·'ᴇlstᴇmʜ use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Ialo'stimōt of the Tālio'mʜ use the raven, robin (*aiʟ'a'qonē*), eagle, whale, the bird *t'ēutlala* (genus ?), and *s'atlsā'ots*, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the *nusqē'mta* suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'ᴇ'l has the name Smō'ᴇn (=the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'kʜʜ surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object
614 belonging to his crest represents waves.

The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE POTLATCH.

171 The social organisation, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
575 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the Sisau'kʜ, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'kʜ corresponds to the Tlōola'qa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsā'ēk·a. The Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
556 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qē'mtsioa, to whose
● 773 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful
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[532]
[575]

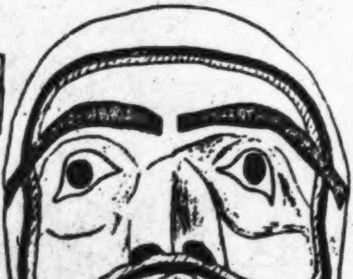

FIG. 4.—Mask representing Qē'mtsioa.

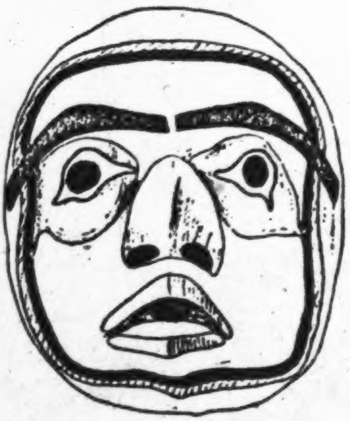

FIG. 5.—Mask representing Qēmqēmalā'otla.

house in the far east, and cries ō! ō! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs 556
representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kū'siūt these deities
make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. 773
Qē'mtsioa and Qēmqēmalā'otla wear the design of the full moon, indi- 776
cated in the mask Qē'mtsioa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and
black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip.
Qēmqēmalā'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red out- 532
side, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Aiumkī'likya 575
(fig. 6) and Aiumalā'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn 776

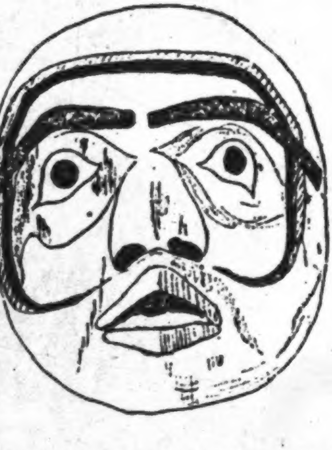

FIG. 6.—Mask representing Aiumkī'likya.

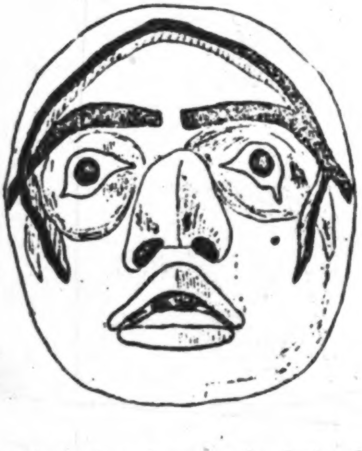

FIG. 7.—Mask representing Aiumalā'otla.

in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K·'ōmk·'ōmkī'likya, and K·'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K·ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulē'lias (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, At'amā'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'ētsā'aplētlāna (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisau'kH, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had 773
gone out hunting met the Sisau'kH, and was instructed by him in the
secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean 776
their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to
enter. Then he danced the Sisau'kH, and told the people what he had 796
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance
and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

575 trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on,
773 returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisau'kн.
776 Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.
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575
776

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K·'ōmk·'ōmkī'likya.

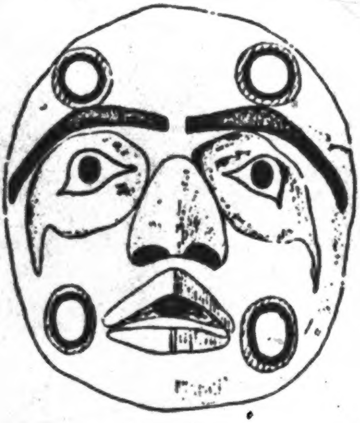
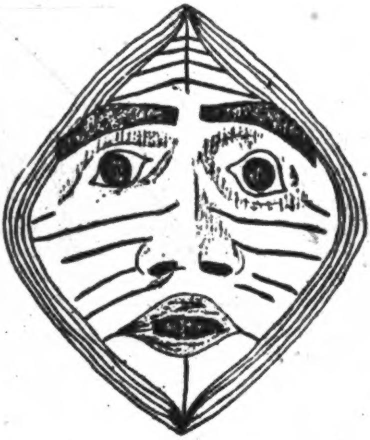


FIG. 9.—Mask representing K·ula'qawa.



614 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisau'kн
532 only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, *i.e.*, they are the sacred possessions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved
[534] headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they
[292] Represent.

422 FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kulō'lias.

[575]
[776]

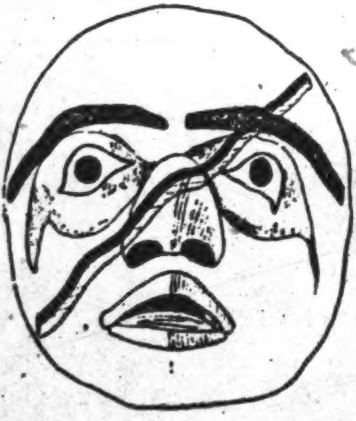
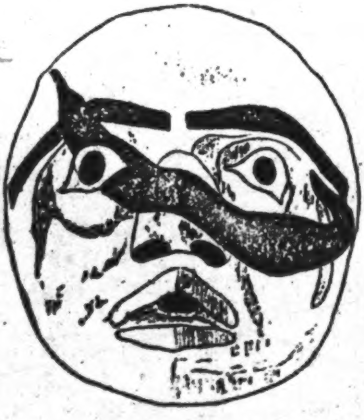


FIG. 11.—Mask representing Tī'ētsā'aplētlāna.



6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the 614
people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the
various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That 532
is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of 422
carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. 556
Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become
Sisau'kʜ. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is
given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ᴇlu'sta, [567]
to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is [848]
a member of the gens Ialo'stimōt of the Talio'mʜ, stated that he had
received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch [115]
he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale
at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets
connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets
to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he 614
changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kū'siūt name, which 424
remains the same throughout life; and a Qē'mtsioa name, which is changed
at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ᴇlu'sta's (which is his Kū'siūt name) 551
present Qē'mtsioa name is Atl'itlᴇmnᴇ'lus'aiʜ, but at his next potlatch he 556
intends to take the name of Kaliā'kis. These names are also the property
of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of 575
gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kū'siūt names of the
ancestors. In two cases only the Qē'mtsioa names have been ascertained 424
(see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'kʜ secrets he will distribute
them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or 575
mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of 614
their Sisau'kʜ secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member
of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'kʜ
secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it [426]
any more. The crest and the Sisau'kʜ carvings must not be loaned to
others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions
are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. 556
The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave
the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his 426
heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kū'siūt is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaûlikûtsai'ʜ. 575
Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February
till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the 773
door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been 776
the first to find her. Anaûlikûtsai'ʜ invited her into her cave and taught

575 her the secrets of the Kū'siūt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the
same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her
dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with
masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance
the Kū'siūt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and
sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the
Kū'siūt.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kū'siūt. When a man has
575 seen Anaūlikūtsai'ʜ sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
776 Kū'siūt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his
house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the
evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to
the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the
taboo house. Each Kū'siūt lasts three days.

535 The various dances performed by members of the Kū'siūt are also the
property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
575 to members of the gens. They must not be given to a daughter's husband,
614 as is the case with the Sisau'kʜ dances (see above), but belong to the
424 members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who
[426] do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the
owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower
575 may return it at any time. Membership of the Kū'siūt is obtained through
an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kū'siūt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kū'siūt names,
which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other
[428] relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was
about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akō'otl.
I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initia-
[556] tion; it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same
way as the Sisau'kʜ, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to
perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kū'siūt have to pass through a
religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] ʟlaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lʟq (the Nū'tlmatl of
the Kwakiutl), and the Dā'tia (the Nō'ntsistatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These
grades are also hereditary. A Kū'siūt novice may acquire them at
once at his first initiation.

575 When the ʟlaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he
encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
785 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any-
one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[266] killed, in order to serve as food for the ʟlaqō'tla. The offer was accepted
and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The
latter was killed, and the members of the ʟlaqō'tla order devoured one-
half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There
the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or
thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside
the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the 586
parents and children.

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, 764
the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-
ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the [301]
back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The
body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower
branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above [823]
the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward.
Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the
grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a
memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-
dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are
painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the [766]
burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so [567]
many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the
use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently
during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the
friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at [775]
a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower
world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

The bed of a mourner must be protected againt the ghost of the de- 765
ceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each
corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. 783
Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four
thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they [775]
cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They
also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and
creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do
on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners 765
cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they
should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream [302]
of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with
shells or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially
strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a
word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of
the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and [262]
are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same
length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and [828]
widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their [822]
shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest
relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings 765
a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. 556
It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was
'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.'

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of 773 ●
the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to 171

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773 what cause this divergence is due. Mythology and religion are so closely [171] connected that a few words on the former must be added here. The principal deity of the Bilqula is Snq, the sun-god (compare *sōnq*, sun). 773 The rays of the sun are his eyelashes. When prayed to he is called Tāat'au. In praying the Bilqula look heavenward. I obtained the fol- 776 lowing formulas: *Atlkuu itlō'tlsuq, Tāat'au*, 'Look on us where we are going, Tāat'au;' and *Tāat'au, atlkuallnomdō'tlq*, 'Take care of us, Tāat'au.' [782] Snq is pre-eminently the ruler of the world, and does not interfere with [539] the actions and thoughts of men. These are given by Masmasalā'niq. According to the tradition of the Bilqula, before the liberation of the sun, and before the world was made as it is nowadays, four deities lived on the earth: Masmasalā'niq, Yula'timot, Matlapē'eqoek, and Itl'itlu'lak. The raven wished to obtain the sun, but he was unable to liberate it. Then he went to these deities and asked their help. They ascended to the sky, and tore the curtain, which up to that time had been expanded between heaven and earth, hiding the heavenly orbs. The sun appeared, but he shone dimly, as though darkened by clouds. The raven ascended to heaven through the rift made by Masmasalā'niq, and found there a beautiful prairie country in which all the birds lived. Masmasalā'niq and his brothers painted them beautifully and sent them down to earth, giving each his song and his arts. The raven was not content with the sun, and resolved to try and find a better one. He flew to the house of a great chief, who kept the *nusqē'mta* (*nu–ta*=place of, *sqē'm*=the day is dawning). The *nusqē'mta* was a small round receptacle closed all around like an egg. The chief guarded it jealously, and kept it suspended from one of the rafters of his house. The raven knew that he could not obtain it by sheer force, and resorted to a ruse. He assumed the shape of the leaf of a spruce tree, and let himself drop into the pond from which the chief's daughter used to take water. The girl drank from the pond, swallowed the leaf, and thus became with child. She gave birth to a boy, who was the raven himself. The old chief loved the boy dearly, and allowed him to play with the *nusqē'mta*. This was what he desired. He ran out of the house, broke it, and flew away in the shape of a raven.

After the sun had thus been obtained Masmasalā'niq said: 'Let us make man.' He made the image of a man out of wood, but he was unable to endow it with breath. Matlapē'eqoek and Itl'itlu'lak tried likewise to carve human figures and to give them life, but they failed. Finally, Yula'timot carved the figure of a man and endowed it with life. He made a man and a woman in each country, and they became the ancestors of all the numerous tribes. Then Masmasalā'niq gave them their arts. He taught them to build canoes, to catch salmon, to build houses. He made rivers everywhere, that man should have water to drink, and that the fish might go up the rivers to be caught by man.

The Bilqula believe that Masmasalā'niq and his brothers still continue to give new ideas to man. They say that any new design of painting or [176] carving, or any other new invention made by a member of their tribe, has been given to him by Masmasalā'niq.

The religious side of the potlatch and of the secret societies has been referred to above.

774 The soul is believed to dwell in the nape. It is similar in shape to a [826] bird inclosed in an egg. If the shell of the egg breaks and the soul flies [761] away its owner must die. Shamans are able to see and to recover souls.

[756]

lished some remarks on the religious life of the Bella Coola in 1886,[1] 114
which, however, contain so many misconceptions that they cannot be used to advantage. At the same time I published a brief description of the tribe, based on information received from a small group of members of the tribe who were travelling in Germany. In this description also there are a number of misconceptions. The Indians were shown a collection of masks from Vancouver Island with which they were not familiar. They gave, however, explanations of these masks, judging by the similarity to masks of their own tribe; consequently the explanations given there are not correct.[2] In 1890 I fell in with a number of Bella Coola who were fishing for salmon in Fraser River. The information obtained from them was published in the reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891.[3] A. Jacobsen published a description of their ceremonies in 1891.[4] Fillip Jacobsen described some of their traditions and customs in 1894 and 1895.[5] I published a collection of traditions in 1894 and 1895.[6]

III.

All the collections which have been made heretofore do not bring out 114
clearly the principal characteristic of the mythology of the Bella Coola. The 773
tribes of the North Pacific coast consider the Sun as the most important deity, but at the same time they believe in a great many beings of super- 776
natural power. For this reason their whole mythology is very unsystematic. The Bella Coola, on the other hand, have developed a peculiar mythology, in which a number of supernatural beings have been co-ordinated. A system has been evolved which justifies our terming the supernatural beings "deities." The general features of this system are as follows:—

The Bella Coola believe that there are five worlds, one above an- 772
other. The middle one is our own world, the earth. Above it are spanned two heavens, while below it there are two underworlds. In the upper heaven resides the supreme deity, a woman who interferes comparatively [776]
little with the fates of mankind. In the centre of the lower heaven, that is in the zenith, stands the house of the gods, in which reside the Sun and all the other deities. Our own earth is an island swimming in the ocean. The [775]
underworld is inhabited by the ghosts, who are at liberty to return to heaven, whence they may be sent down again to our earth. The ghosts

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[1] Original-Mittheilungen aus dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, 1886, pp. 183-186. [113]

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.

[3] Seventh Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, pp. 2-18; Report of the 61st Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff, 1891, pp. 408-449.

[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, pp. 383-395.

[5] Ymer, Tidskrift utgifven af Svenska Sällskapet för Antropologi och Geografi, 1894, pp. 187-202; 1895, pp. 1-23.

[6] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, pp. 281-306; 1895, pp. 189-195.

772 who die a second death sink to the lowest world, from which there is no
[775] return.

The upper heaven is called Atsā'axʟ, or Snutx·ʟak·'a'ls ti Sōnx· t'aix·, or
[774] Sōnxaut. Omq'ō'mkilik·a. The deity ruling there is a woman who is called Qamā'its, or Tsi sisnāaxiʟ ("our woman"), or Ek·!yak·imtōʟa'ʟ ("afraid of nothing").

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776 This heaven is described as a prairie without any trees. It is said that in order to reach it one must go up the river from the house of the gods in the lower heaven. In another tradition it is said that in travelling from the lower heaven to the upper heaven one has to pass the rent in the sky which is called Tsʟaa'lōtas ti Sōnx· t'aix·. The house of the supreme deity stands in the far east, and a gale is continually blowing over the open country, driving every thing towards the entrance of her house. Near the house, however, it is calm. In front of the house stands a post in the shape of a large winged monster, and its mouth is the entrance to the house. In front of the house-door there is gravel of three colors,—blue, black, and white. Behind the house is a salt-water pond in which the goddess bathes. In this pond lives the sī'siuʟ or xtsaltsalō'sᴇm. This being sometimes descends to our world. Wherever it moves, the rocks burst, and slide down the sides of the mountains. It is described as a snake or a fish (see pp. 44, 66).

773 In the beginning of the world the mountains were of great height.
823 They were human beings who made the world uninhabitable. Qamā'its made war upon the mountains. She vanquished them, and made them smaller than they used to be. During this fight she broke off the nose of the mountain Yōlyulᴇ'mʟ, which is situated near Nuʟ!ᴇ'l. Its face may be recognized even now; and the Indians say that when its name is called, it answers. There are two mountains near the head-waters of Bella Coola River. The one is called Sʟᴇx·ʟēkoai'ʟ; the other one, Na'axʟ. The former had a fire, called Snutai'k·nimsta, burning in his house. This fire warned him of the approach of enemies. When Qamā'its made war upon the mountains, the fire warned its master. Qamā'its was coming down the river in her canoe, which is named "T!kun." When she approached, he broke her canoe, and she returned to heaven. The canoe has been transformed into stone, and may be seen to this day at the foot of the mountain Sʟᴇx·ʟēkoai'ʟ. It is said that Qamā'its visits the earth every now and then. Her visits cause sickness and death. She is described as a great warrior.

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776 In the centre of the lower heaven, which is called Sōnx·, stands the house of the gods. This house is named Nusmᴇ'ta (the House of Myths), or Nusk!oaʟtnai'x·sta ("where man was created"), or Nusk·ʟaʟᴇ'msta ("the house from which people come down"), or Nusqilxoai'x·sta ("the house to which people go"). In front of the house stands a post called Nuʟtnē'k·ta. It is painted with representations of all kinds of birds. A

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Senx and Aʟ.k'untā'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar characteristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on 773 pp. 78 ff. 776 In one legend which I collected in 1890, Aʟ.k'untā'm's mother, Nunusōmik·ēeqonē'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition, the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Aʟ.k'untā'm, the stake being the salmon. Aʟ.k'untā'm lost, and the man took the salmon down [826] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38, where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl. In the tradition quoted above, Aʟ.k'untā'm also gives to man the power to cure [755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their [772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the [794] Bella Coola which is called kū'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ētsā'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in [575] the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kū'siut is of equal importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials performed during the kū'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths [532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths: therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials. Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII) are Senx, Aʟ.k'untā'm, and Snūʟ.k'ulx·a'ls. The functions of many of the 575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kū'siut. These deities and their 776 functions are as *follows*: Sisauk'ilal'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty to kill those who transgress the laws of the kū'siut. This deity is mentioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sck-seik Kallal.[4] Nusnē'noq'als (Plate VII, Fig. 7), or the Snxnē'iq of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 293.

[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311–738.

[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.

[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 383.

paint. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Masmasalā'nix gives them the idea which they are working out. 776

Snnx has a daughter named Sp'tx·p'ik·na'm, who invented the art of working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the kū'siut ceremonial, in which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This deity has an assistant called Omatōnē'k·, who supports the stick over the edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she shouts, "Aʟētx siāyx'ltxau tl Omatōnē'k·stix·" ("Bring to me Omatōnē'k·"). After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Aʟētx siāyx'ltxau ts tqank·ʟts" ("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this, she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Aʟētx snukpanʟai'ts ti sp'ē'k·tats." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Aʟētx k·ʟōlʟāsmx·lais ti sp'ē'k·ētstex·." Then she begins to work, singing,— [575] [539]

"Ē'sta atk·'x·aawe'l ā'tu'tnot.'t 'mata la laa'x [illegible] [539]
Ē sta [illegible] tai Sp'tx·p'ik·naa'mas Nusxalā'ot.la."

("Behold me, ye who are not initiated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of Nusxalā'ot.la.")

It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Snnx to our world to become the ancestor of man, but at the same time it is told that he invented certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap (aʟk'a'l), which is used in connection with the salmon-weir. 776 773

It is also said that Masmasalā'nix attempted to make the whistles for the winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particularly concerned with the observations of the kū'siut ceremonial (Plate IX, Figs. 1–9). The names of the brothers are, Xēmxēmalā'ot.la, Xē'mtsiwa, Omq'omkī'lik·a, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Aimalā'ōt.ala, Al'umkī'lik·a, K·le'lias, Q'ulaxā'wa, A't'māk·; and of their sister, ʟ'ētsā'apletʟāna. These deities are painted with certain designs. Xēmxēmalā'ot.la and Xē'mtsiwa are painted with the designs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white cedar-bark); Omq'omkī'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsiwa, with the design of the half-moon; Aimalā'ōt.ala and Al'umkī'lik·a, with the design representing the stars; K·le'lias, with the design of the rainbow; Q'ulaxā'wa, with the de- 776 776 532

776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom; A'Y'mik· has the shape of a kingfisher; and L'ētsā'aplēLana is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled 532 with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xemaxemalā'eoLla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspē'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of Atk'untā'm.[1]

776 In one tradition L'ētsā'aplēLana' is described as visiting houses and stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has 773 wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these [114] ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k· ceremonial,[2] but this [575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kū'siut.

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named LLō'sta, in which the son of the deities lives. His name is Bā'xoāLla or Snopaxaxōl.a'lt. 773 When Senx and Atk'untā'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them 776 past the door of Bā'xoāLla's room. The latter then rushes out of his room and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to [772] the tradition of the tribe Sa'nxLamx', they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Bā'xoāLla came down to the mountain Sūpai., where he met with the son of Senxalō'Lela, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Qoalaia'tsimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Bā'xoāLla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qama'its. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qama'its sitting in front of her house; and she said to Bā'xoāLla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, [illegible], p. [illegible].

[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 8.

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie 575
until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed 773
down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qamā'its 776
said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qamā'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qamā'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sqᵘxaxa), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that 776
of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'uLAXEM, another son of the deities. His room is 575
called Nus'ō'lsta. He initiates the Ōla-dancer (see Chap. VI).

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise [772]
is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanī's ti Stnx'tāix (Plate X, Fig. 1). [821]
He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k

772 775 their kū'siut. It is just below the burial-place of each village. The dancing-house is very large and long. It has four fires. The women stay on the floor of the house, while the men sit on an elevated platform. The houses have doors, but the ghosts who first reach the lower world enter the house through the smoke-hole. A rope ladder placed in the smoke-hole facilitates their entrance. Two men stand at the foot of the ladder. They are called Anoeʟ'axsaʟai'x·. For a person who has once entered the dancing-house there is no return to our earth. The souls are at liberty to return to the lower heaven, which they reach by ascending the rope ladder. Those who return to the lower heaven are sent back to our earth by the deities, to be born as children in the same family to which they belonged. Those who enjoy life in the country of the ghosts, and who do not return to heaven, die a second death, and then sink to the second lower world, from which there is no return.

I received another description from an old man. He stated that he reached the country in his canoe. He saw two trails,—one the trail of the living, one that of the dead. He followed the trail of the dead, and reached a village in which there was a dancing-house. The language of the ghosts differed from that of the living (see p. 42).

773 825 [823] The Bella Coola believe that in the far west is situated the land of the salmon, which is called Mia'ltoa. The salmon leave this country early in the spring every year, and ascend the rivers. They are believed to return to their own country in the fall. The following tradition is of importance, explaining the manner in which the salmon were first brought from their country to the rivers of our world:—

Once upon a time a man named Winwi'na lived at Q'ō'mqōtis. One day he was sitting in front of his house, looking at the river. He thought, "I wish fish would ascend this river." At that time not a single salmon visited Bella Coola River. Winwi'na entered his house and lay down, thinking about the salmon. One night while he was asleep he dreamt that with the help of all the animals he had made war upon the salmon, that he had vanquished them, and that since that time the salmon had ascended Bella Coola River. When he awoke he invited all the animals to his house, and told them about his dream. They all came, and when they had entered he shut the door. Then he spoke: "My brothers, I have invited you to my house that you may hear what I wish to do. You shall help me to obtain what I desire." The Mink asked him in what they were to assist him; and he replied, "I want to go to Mia'ltoa. There is not a single fish in our river, and I dreamt that with your help I vanquished the fish. Let us make war upon them. I shall certainly take some slaves, and we will place them in this river." Mink retorted, "I am glad that you are speaking,

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in regard to this matter. I asked my father the Sun (see Chap. V) to give us salmon, and I think he gave you the dream which you told us."

All the birds agreed, and they resolved to start as soon as possible. Then Winwī'na asked Masmasalā'nix to build a canoe. The latter complied with his request, and made a self-moving canoe, to which he gave the names "Winaiōtstutᴀs" and "Kunkunu'qtstutᴀs." In the third moon after the winter solstice the canoe was completed, and Winwī'na started, accompanied by the clouds, the birds, and by all the animals. The Hermaphrodite was sitting in the stern of the canoe. They went down the fiord; and when they passed the village of Bella Bella, they saw the Cormorant sitting on the beach, who asked to be taken along as a passenger. They travelled westward for a long time, and finally they reached the country of the Salmon. They saw that there were no trees. The country was a vast prairie. A large sun was shining in the sky. Soon they descried the village of the Salmon. They sent out the Raven as a spy. When he returned, he told them that in the evening the Salmon were in the habit of playing on the beach. Mink suggested that this would be the best time for carrying some of them away. Then the Crane (according to another version, the Hawk) said, "I shall carry away the Sockeye Salmon." The Wren said, "I shall carry away the Humpback Salmon." The Kingfisher (according to another version, the Crane) said, "I shall carry away the Dog Salmon." The Raven said, "I shall carry away the Silver Salmon." The Fish-Hawk said, "I shall carry away the Olachen and the Salmon Trout." The Cloud said, "I shall carry away the Spring Salmon." Finally the Cormorant said, "I am only a passenger, and I will take whatever I can get." The Mink remarked, "I will not say what I am going to carry away: I only want to tell you that you must each take one male and one female. Now start. You are invisible to the Salmon. When you approach them, they will not be able to see you, just as we cannot see the ghosts, even when they are walking by our side." They left Winwī'na to guard the canoe. Then all the birds and the Mink took each one male and one female child of the various kinds of fish. When they carried them off, the children fainted, as though their souls had been taken away. Their bodies remained at the place where they had been playing. The Salmon did not see their captors, and did not know why the children were fainting. The birds returned to the canoe, carrying the fish. Then Winwī'na said, "Let us go on and see what is beyond the country of the Salmon." Soon they arrived at a place called Qualē'nia (this name is not quite certain), in which vast numbers of berries were growing. Here the Hermaphrodite went ashore, and picked all kinds of berries, which she carried into the canoe. Then they returned home. For seven months they had staid in the country of the Salmon. They reached the coast shortly after the winter solstice (?). When they passed Bella Bella, the Cormorant

773 825 said, "This is my home. I will go ashore here." He went, and took along the Salmon which he had captured. Ever since that time there are salmon at Bella Bella. The others travelled on, and came to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Then they threw all the various kinds of fish into the water. The Salmon jumped, and began to ascend the river. Then Winwī'na arose in his canoe and told each at what season he was to arrive. He scattered the berries over the mountains and through the valleys, and told them at what season to ripen. After he had done so, he invited his companions into his house, and gave them a feast.

773 825 192 In this tradition the birds and animals are not called by their ordinary names, but by mythical names. These names are as follows:—

ENGLISH.	ORDINARY NAME.	MYTHICAL NAME.
Spring salmon	ɜmt.	t'ōlt'ō'lx·timōt
Sockeye salmon	sâmt.	nanāɫak·anᴇxxtᴇnᴇ'm ("very long")
Humpback salmon	k·ap'ai'	anuk·pᴇmai'x·.
Dog salmon	tl̥li	siaia'ltoa ("fair weather.")
Silver salmon	wā'ls	k·!pstōstōsai'laix· ("making himself beautiful")
Salmon (sp.?)	——	ō'sip'āq
Cloud	sk·!ē'noos	tsa'koak· ("long hand")
Hawk (?)	stslx'ts'ᴇx	anuk·!k·iqtsaix· ("looking down into water")
Wren	mōxat'a'laqa	ʟ'lk·ma'lutaix· ("jumper")
Crane	xaq'ā'ns	masaxē'lan
Raven	qoa'x	ʟxoa'xoaqtai'laix· ("rising early")
Cormorant	ʟ'ō'pana	k'oā'k'oag·ila
Hermaphrodite	sx·ints	aʟa'ya'ō

773 According to the belief of the Bella Coola, Winwī'na's canoe arrives from the country of the Salmon every year. It stays in the country of the Bella Coola for nine months, and then returns to the country of the Salmon. At the moment when it leaves, another canoe, which is named "Nō'ak·nᴇm" or "Nuauk·au'tsnᴇm," which brings the kū'siut ceremonial, arrives from the country S'anōk!pts'ltua. The canoe reaches a distant point of land before the departure of the canoe of the Salmon. After four days it reaches a nearer point of land. Four days more, and it is seen at the point of land nearest to the mouth of Bella Coola River. Another four days, and it reaches the mouth of the river. The Indians believe that there is a house named Snō'amʟᴇnank· at this place. A post is standing in the water in front of the house. It is called Snutēxoalaaxtstᴇna'nk·. In the house live three men who are named NaapsuʟaxaI'x·, Ā'mʟtag·ilis, and Tix·ti·k·'a'nᴇmem. The canoe is tied up in front of this house. As soon as it arrives, the kū'siut ceremonial begins. At the head-waters of Bella Coola River, forming the watershed between Bute Inlet and Bentinck Arm, is a mountain called

Smayā'na, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxumk·ila. 773 The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smayā'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nō'ak·nɛm" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qtstuʟs" returns from the country of the Salmon, [776] while "Nō'ak·nɛm" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nō'ak·nɛm."

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated 773 according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. 805 The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. 821 The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows: —

Sɛ̈'mt (*winter solstice*)	Sɛ̈'mt (*summer solstice*)
Sxōlɛ'mx·ɛnɛm	Sī'ʟxum
[illegible]	Sɛxɛxē'mut
Siaq'ū'm	Sinuʟlā'lsɛmtɛnɛm
Siqiō'lx·	Tai sitak·ā'ns tatau Anaōlikuts'ai'x·
Sinō'moak·	ʟɛmuʟē'm

The canoe "Nō'ak·nɛm" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qtstuʟs" leaves, in the month Sinuʟla'lsɛmtɛnɛm. The canoe "Nō'ak·nɛm" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qtstuʟs" returns, in the month Sxolɛ'mx·ɛnɛm.

At the moment when the canoe "Nō'ak·nɛm" arrives, a deity called 773 Anaōlikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. 776 Her cave is called Nuskēsiō'tsta. It is said that one Anaōlikuts'ai'x· lives on the mountain Sqtsɪʟ. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anaōlikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutsē'xɛnɛm. When the canoe "Nō'ak·nɛm" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person [575] sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the kū'siut.

A particular Nuskēsiō'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anō'nk·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlō'stxuʟ lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some 539
time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his
intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the
fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up
outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When
it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he
told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed
it on a stick, and put it near the fire; and as soon as it grew warm, the
Raven cried, "Ttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you
do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly.
The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not
to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then
the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children.
He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said,
"I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company
with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Toā'laʟ'it was killed at one time by an 773
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to
the tribe of the village Nusxē'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astās,[1] 776
by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. [171]
Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella
Coola, and the Awī'k·'ēnôx of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called Kᵘtsōs is the father of all 776
mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is Kᵘtsōs, it 825
will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter
should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall
and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his
particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black [821]
mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges
forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, [532]
Fig. 1). His herald is called Aʟxula'tᴇnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face
is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff,
which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of
the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3);
the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4); [575]
the Mountain, ʟᴇ'qots (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6).

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 3[illegible].

776 575 [534] The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kū'siut ceremonial. When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184 773 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Sᴇɴx. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe. 103 361 773 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

Village.	Location.	Ancestors.
1. Q'oā'ʟna	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sᴇ'ʟɪs	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtosō'nx.
3. Nusxē'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Sᴇmsiutā'k'as, Nusqoa'xlanē, Sx'ints, and their sister Ē'nʟ'aʟana.
4. Pē'isela	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Stā'ltomx· Yuyō'lkᵘ, Mᴇntsī't, Sisiō'ʟ.
5. Aʟqla'xʟ	The present mission at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Isyū'yōt, Xᴇmxē'mtxnᴇm, Snuxnaʟa'ls, and their sister ʟuqal'tsta.

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VILLAGE.	LOCATION.	ANCESTORS.
6. Ōmax mik'ē'tɪp	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 5.	
7. Tx'e'ix tskunē	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 6.	
8. Selkū'ta	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 7.	
9. Sa'qta	North side, at mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 8.	
10. Stsk'ē'it.	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River.	Q'ēe'ɪ.
11. Q'ō'mqūtis	South side, near mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 10.	Xe'mlaix', O'mq'ōmkilik'a, and their sister Sxemā'na.
	(Nos. 4-11 jointly are called Nuxa'lk'!.)	
12. Senxɪ.	About one mile above Nuxa'lk'!.	Yuyō'lkumai, Anuxe'mlaix', Senxalō'otla, and their sister Nusk'i'mnaɪ.
13. Tsomō'oɪ.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 12.	Nō'ak'ila, Tsxɪɛmɪmak'ai'x', and their sister Snutk'ana'ls.
14. Snū't'ɪɛle	On Bella Coola River, above No. 13.	ɪuk'lai'x'.
15. Nūk'i'ts	On Bella Coola River, above No. 14.	ɪxumtɪne'm.
16. Nusā'tsɛm	At junction of Nusā'tsɛm and Bella Coola Rivers.	Qxōxunk'ma'nē.
17. Asɛ'nanē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 15.	Ē'mask'in *or* Atq'ēexa'.
18. Nuqā'axmats	On Bella Coola River, above No. 17.	Anutapak'ɪmalai'x', Isyū'yot, one more man, and their sister.
19. Tsxoaxqā'nē	On Bella Coola River, above No. 18.	
20. Nūsq!ɛ'lst	On Bella Coola River, at foot of Mount Nūsq!ɛ'lst, above No. 19.	Totō'sk'ma.
21. Nuɪɪɛ'ix	On Bella Coola River, above No. 20.	Sxumxumla'x', Sō'nxmai, Sinoxt'aɪ, and their sister Qanāatsla'qs.
22. Stū'ix'	28 miles above mouth of Bella Coola River, above No. 21.	Atlix'inōt sis ti Sōnxt'aix', Sēxē'm, Xe'mtsioa Anuxe'm, Kēsmi'n, Nutseqō'ax, and their sister Kēmiowa'na.
23. Snū'ɪ'ɛlaɪ.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 22.	
24. Slā'axɪ.	On Bella Coola River, above No. 23.	
25. Q'ua'px	At head of South Bentinck Arm.	
26. Nū'ik'o	" " " "	
27. Asɛ'ix	" " " "	
	(Nos. 25-27 jointly are called Tā'lio.)	
28. Sōtsɪ.	At mouth of Salmon River, Dean Inlet.	
29. Sātsq	Dean Inlet.	

361 773 It is very remarkable, that, besides the ancestors of the villages enumerated here, the Bella Coola state that the Sun created a number of men whom he sent down to a mountain on Skeena River, and that they became the ancestors of a part of the Tsimshian. Another group of men was sent down to Bute Inlet, and later on migrated to Bella Coola River. The names of these villages and men are as follows: —

[103]

VILLAGE.	ANCESTORS.
Nusqa'pts (Skeena River)	Teqō'mnōt, A'ustē, Sxō'ya, and their sister K·'imltqā'n.
Na'as (Bute Inlet)	Nānatskuit, Anoxēma'axōts, Spā'npaltnaix·, O'meatk·as.

The full traditions referring to them will be found at the end of this chapter. Each of these ancestors, when sent down to our world, received a salmon-weir, which was placed across the river at the locality where they built their village. I shall now relate a number of traditions of the various villages.

TRADITION OF SE'LIA.

500 In the beginning our world was dark. At that time Tōtosō'nx descended from heaven, and reached our world on a mountain near the river Wa'k·itɛmai (Fraser River). Here he built a house, in which he lived in the company of the Raven. The latter had a black canoe which was called "Raven." The two resolved to travel in order to find people. They descended the river until they came to the sea. After some time they reached a house which was covered inside and outside with abelone shells. The totem-post of the house was also covered with shells. It shone like the sun. They saw a canoe on the beach, and this too was completely covered with abelone shells. A chief, whose name was Pɛlxanē'mx· ("abelone man"), invited them to enter his house. As soon as Tōtosō'nx reached this place, the sun rose. If he had not found the place of the abelone chief, there would be no sun. Tōtosō'nx did not wish to stay. He looked at the house, and saw something turning about on top of it. When they came nearer, he saw that it was a Mink, which was running about on the roof. Many people were inside the house. When Tōtosō'nx approached and saw the beautiful canoe, he wished to have it. He offered the chief their canoe in exchange. This offer was accepted, and Tōtosō'nx travelled on with the abelone canoe. The Raven staid with the abelone chief. Tōtosō'nx continued his travels, following the course of the sun. First he travelled southward, and came to the post which stands in the west of our world. From here he travelled on, and reached the copper country, which is situated

[pp. 51-113 not processed]

follow either father or mother, but that it had not the right to use the 174
property of both parents. It seems to my mind that the former method was
more likely to develop under the existing social conditions, and that to this 182
reason we must ascribe the development of an endogamic system among the 424
Bella Coola. The occurrence of endogamic marriage among this tribe is 614
quite isolated on the Pacific coast. All the other tribes have exogamic institutions,
and by this means preserve their property rights. It is interesting to
note that the southern Kwakiutl, who originally seem to have been organized 171
in village communities, have adopted exogamic institutions; but there is a 174
notable difference, in the organization of the village community, between the
Bella Coola and the Kwakiutl. Among the Bella Coola we generally find 621
four ancestors to each village,—usually three men and one woman. It is [173]
true that these are generally called brothers and sister, but they were created
independently by Senx, and are therefore not necessarily considered as blood
relations. Among the Kwakiutl the village community are considered the
descendants of one single being; consequently, among the latter tribe they
are all relatives, who are forbidden to intermarry; while among the Bella
Coola they are not relatives, and may intermarry.

My inference is, therefore, that the curious social system of the Bella 174
Coola developed through the influence of the customs of the Coast tribes 177
upon the loose social unit of the Salish village community. The possession
of clan traditions was felt as a great advantage, and consequently the desire 424
developed to possess clan traditions. These were acquired partly by intermarriage
with the Coast tribes, as is shown by the fact that many of these 614
traditions are borrowed from these tribes, partly by independent invention. [582]
The desire to guard the traditions which were once acquired led to the
development of endogamic institutions, in order to prevent the spread of the
traditions over the whole tribe.

The jealousy with which the traditions are guarded has had the effect 174
of making each family try to prevent other families from knowing its own 424
clan tradition. For this reason the clan traditions of the whole tribe are
remarkably inconsistent. We find, for instance, that the well-known 614
raven legend of the northern Coast tribes has been utilized by many families
as a family tradition. But while one family uses one part of the tradition,
other families use other parts of the same tradition. Thus it happens that
among the Bella Coola we find the most contradictory myths in regard to
important events in the world's history. Some families maintain that the
Raven liberated the sun, while, according to another one, the Mink was
essential in bringing about the present state of affairs. Still others say that
Tōtsoo'ax, during his travels, caused the sun to appear. The discrepancies
in the traditions referring to the visit of the Mink and Wasp to their father,
the Sun, are also very remarkable. Although a considerable amount of

174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
414 the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Senx or Ta'ata bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kū'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
●773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another
796 tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsī'waē, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the word and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

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[1] See Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 660 ff.

Our analysis shows that this system cannot be considered as an importation, 174 but that it probably developed among the Bella Coola themselves. After they removed to their new home, a mass of foreign ideas had come 177 into their possession through contact with their new neighbors. While these 773 new ideas were being remodelled and assimilated, they stimulated the minds of the people, or of a few members of the tribe, who were thus led to the formation of an elaborate concept of the world. The concept which they have developed agrees in all its main features with those created by men of other zones and of other races. The mind of the Bella Coola philosopher, [812] operating with the class of knowledge common to the earlier strata of culture, has reached conclusions similar to those that have been formed by man the world over, when operating with the same class of knowledge. On the other hand, the Bella Coola has also adopted ready-made the 174 thoughts of his neighbors, and has adapted them to his environment. These two results of our inquiry emphasize the close relation between the com- 773 parative and the historic methods of ethnology, which are so often held to be antagonistic. Each is a check upon rash conclusions that might be attained by the application of one alone. It is just as uncritical to see, in an analogy of a single trait of culture that occurs in two distinct regions, undoubted proof of early historical connection as to reject the possibility of such connection, because sometimes the same ideas develop independently in the human mind. Ethnology is rapidly outgrowing the tendency to accept imperfect evidence as proof of historical connection; but the comparative ethnologist is hardly beginning to see that he has no right to scoff at the historical method. Our inquiry shows that safe conclusions can be derived only by a careful analysis of the whole culture. The growth of the myths of the Bella Coola can be understood only when we consider the culture of the tribe as a whole. And so it is with other phenomena. All traits of culture can be fully understood only in connection with the whole culture of a tribe. When we confine ourselves to comparing isolated traits of culture, we open the door to misinterpretations without number.

If, then, the demand is made for a more critical method in the comparative study of ethnology than it has generally been accorded, it does not imply a deprecation of the results of the method. When the human mind evolves an idea, or when it borrows the same idea, we may assume that it has been evolved or accepted because it conforms with the organization of the human mind; else it would not be evolved or accepted. The wider the distribution of an idea, original or borrowed, the closer must be its conformity with the laws governing the activities of the human mind. Historical analysis will furnish the data referring to the growth of ideas among different people; and comparisons of the processes of their growth will give us knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution and selection of ideas.

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897

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550 One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ē'lEñ, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxanī'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxanī'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEā'mEñ. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxanī'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxanī'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sLā'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the siō'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the siō'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sLā'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalasEn); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the siō'ua must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BĪ'LXULA.

121 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bī'lxula
171 are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl,
and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the
potlatch, the sisau'k·, and the kū'siut. The sisau'k· corresponds to
the Laō'laxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kū'siut to the
556 ts'ē'ts'aēqa. The Bī'lxula believe that the potlatch has been insti-
773 tuted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among
whom is Xē'mtsioa, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides
776 with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ō, ō,"

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. 556
The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are 773
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 776
and rainbow. In the kū'siut these deities make their appearance, and
are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalā'oʟa wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a 575
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalā'oʟa has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Aiumkı'lik·a and Aiumalā'oʟa wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkı'lik·a and
Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the
blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who
wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, At'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing
a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called ʟ'ētsā'aplēʟāna (the eater), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued
by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 796
their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to
enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses
with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance
the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 614
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 424
sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are 532
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful [592]
carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the [534]
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are 424
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate [567]
children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a [848]
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ʟlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I [115]

424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialô'stimōt of the Taliô'mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets con-
[556] nected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his
secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū'siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xĕ'mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ᴇlu'sta's (which is his kū'siut
575 name) Xĕ'mtsioa name was Aʟ'ɪʟᴇᴍɴᴇ'lus'aix·, but at his next pot-
614 latch he intended to take the name of Kaliā'kis. These names are
also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names.
When a man possesses several sisan'k· secrets, he will distribute them
among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may,
after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisan'k·
secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan.
When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisan'k· secrets. After
any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisan'k· carvings must not be loaned to others,
but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are
the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave
the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his
heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the
debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by
a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part
of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told,
for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a
potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going
to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs
are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kū'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaūlikuts'-
773 ai'x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she
776 opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaūlikuts'ai'x· invited her into her
cave and taught her the secrets of the kū'siut. She wore ornaments
of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was
blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people 575
should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, 773
they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees 776
me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall 535
punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my
house, you must not dance the kū'siut."

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man 575
has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the 776
people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung
up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only 535
in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing
close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire
from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also 535
property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to 575
members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's hus-
band, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belo[illegible] to the mem- 614
bers of the clan, who have a right to a particular danc[illegible] but who do
not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the 575
owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower [426]
may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained [551]
through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut
name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from [428]
other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until
he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name
of L'akō'oL. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the
details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the [556]
novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected
with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the
dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut
have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The [171]
highest degrees are the Elaxō'La (the hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the [554]
ō'lEx (the nū'LmaL of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaL
of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice
may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the Elaxō'La is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he 575
encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the 785
sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The 787
chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the cere-
monies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of [266]
his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the Elaxō'La. The
offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was
made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the
Elaxō'La order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of
the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast.
He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears